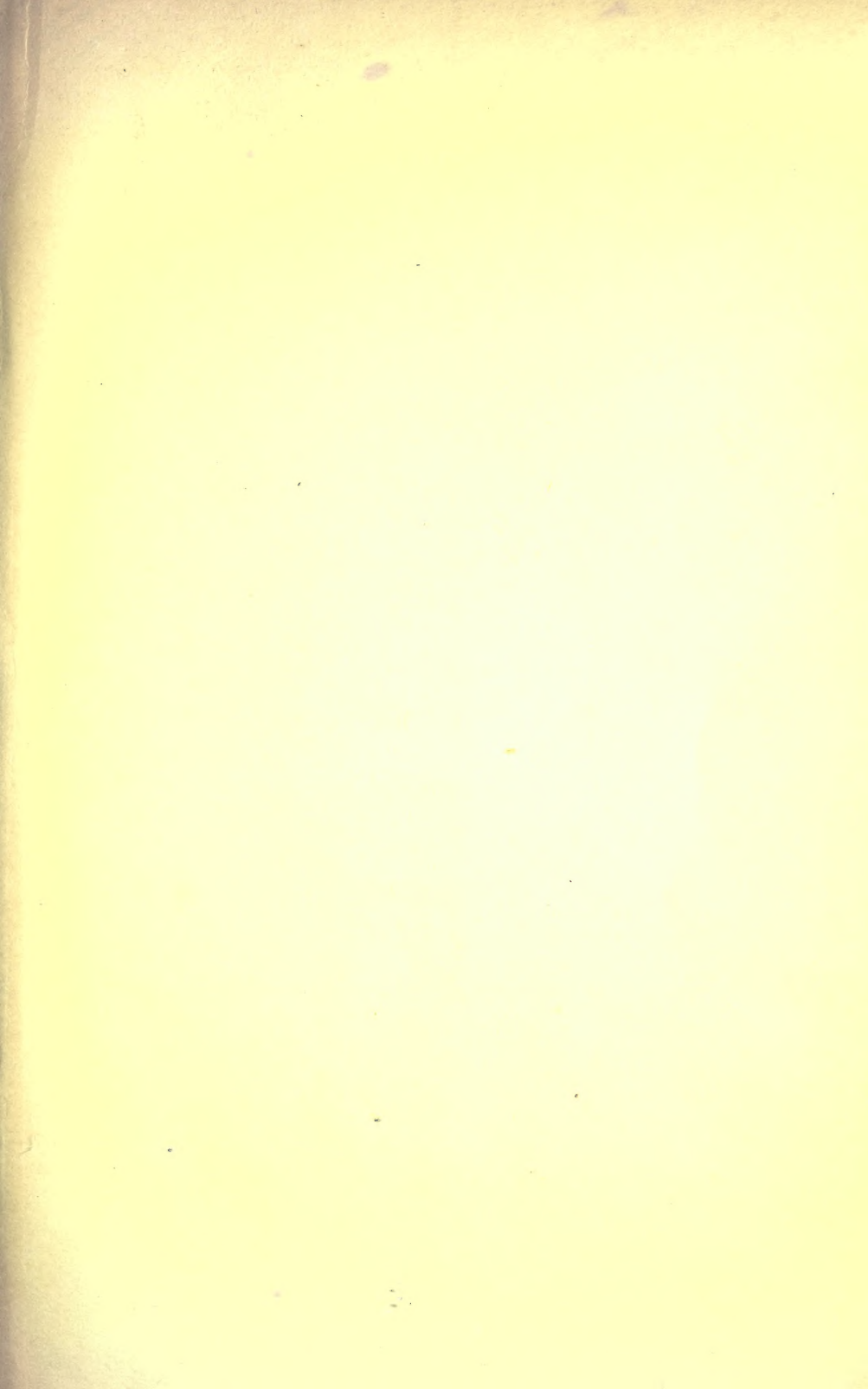


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THE
QUARTERLY

OF THE



VOLUME XIII

MARCH, 1912—DECEMBER, 1912

Edited by

FREDERIC GEORGE YOUNG

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THE QUARTERLY
of the
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VOLUME XIII

MARCH 1912

NUMBER 1

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AN HISTORICAL SERIES FOR KINDLING
AN OREGON SENTIMENT

By The Editor

The Quarterly with this number presents the initial paper of a series designed to give a synthetic view of Oregon's past. The youth of the state need particularly such an account of the making of Oregon as will appeal to the imagination and lend itself to the forming of a realistic picture of the different stages of the process through which the land and the people as we have them today came to be—all for the purpose of inspiring the liveliest and most enlightened sentiment.

The word patriotism in its derivation suggests mainly associated effort in the winning and in the defense of the home land. Thanks to the world peace movement, the indications for the future are that sentiment for the land we call our own must arise out of different associations and ideals cherished in connection with it. The people to lead in the world's civilizations henceforth will commemorate rather the policies that result in the making of a happier and richer national or commonwealth home than in any achievement in wresting that land from another.

Man's co-operation with the forces of nature towards making his heritage a better dwelling place cannot be begun too soon. To evoke a commonwealth spirit aiming to promote the highest welfare of those to come after us nothing can be more useful than an exercise of the imagination in picturing truthfully the

stages through which this Oregon home of ours has, as a whole, passed in coming to its present development.

Mrs. Ellen Condon McCornack, in the introductory paper of this series, gives a delightful sketch of the conditions that obtained here when this section of the globe was in preparation for the advent of man.

The indefatigable research of her father, Thomas Condon, Oregon's most illustrious scientist, provided the materials for this picture. In the early sixties, while Oregon was yet a wilderness and isolated from the world, he began an assiduous labor of love, that of reading the story of Oregon's past as recorded in the exposed strata of rock found in different parts of the state. His work of nearly half-a-century led to discoveries that contributed most important elements to the perfecting of the theory of evolution, the nineteenth century's most important addition to the world's body of scientific knowledge.

A GLIMPSE INTO PREHISTORIC OREGON

By Ellen Condon McCornack

PREFACE

In preparing this sketch our principal source of information has been the chapter on the Willamette Sound from "The Two Islands," *by Professor Condon, but we are also indebted for facts and suggestions to the following publications: Dana's Geology, Chamberlain and Salisbury's Geology, a publication by Professor Osborn of Columbia University, The Encyclopædia Britannica and the writings of John Fiske, George Kennan and others.

INTRODUCTION

The children of modern Egypt, Persia, India and other nations of antiquity, while studying the history of their country, find a rich background of centuries of historic life which they are taught to reverence.

The children of modern Europe, too, have a priceless heritage in their historic relations to classic Greece and Rome. But the children of the New World find but little of this historic background as part of their nation's life. While we of the Northwest have least of all, for we even lack the unique chapter of Colonial history of which our Eastern States are so justly proud.

In order to supplement their usual study of history, The Oregon Historical Society wishes to offer to the schools of our state a few sketches of Oregon's geological history, that, while the children of the Orient are studying the growth of dynasties and pyramids built by the power of the few and degradation and oppression of the many; the children of the Northwest may be studying some of the long rich chapters of its ancient life and the upbuilding of its mountains. While the children of Europe are learning of the rise and fall of kingdoms, so interwoven with the hatred, jealousies and crimes of ambitious men and women; the children of the Northwest may be peering into the mysteries of God's creation and noting the rise and

*The revised edition of "The Two Islands" bears the title, "Oregon Geology."

fall of continents, the upbuilding of our majestic snowpeaks and the evolution of our forest life.

This change of historic background is not offered as a substitute but as a compensation. And yet, it has its advantages. Do you cavil as to the result on character? If the mind of man grows by what it feeds upon, the experiment may result, as is hoped by some, in the development of a nobler race, whose children have minds of breadth, purity and poise caught by breathing the atmosphere of the spirit of creation.

The thoughts of those interested in this plan have naturally turned to the writings of Professor Condon and, in order to carry out their wish, the wellspring or source from which the material for this sketch has been largely drawn is the chapter on The Willamette Sound from Professor Condon's "Two Islands." But such additions have been made as will farther adapt it to the study of the boys and girls of Oregon.

PART I

Long ago the climate of the northern part of the earth began to grow cold. And for a time it seemed to grow colder and colder until almost all of its land was covered by a sheet of ice. Of course the grass and shrubs and trees quietly fled before this ice sheet. Then the horse and camel and reindeer and all other herb-eating animals had to follow their food or die from cold and hunger. But when the flesh-eating animals, such as bears and tigers, found their prey had gone, they, too, joined the army of life ever moving toward the South in front of the creeping ice sheet. Sometimes it would be warmer for a while and the plants and animals could travel a little further north, but the increasing cold was sure to drive them south again. This long continued cold has been called the glacial period or Age of Ice.

If now you have a simple map of Oregon and Washington (your geography map will do), you can trace the rivers and the mountains and see the country better as we talk. You see Oregon is nestled in between the high mountains and the warm Pacific Ocean and so was not covered by the great ice sheet. But it was high and dry with its coast line several miles further west than now; and with many snow-covered mountains and long rivers of solid ice, or glaciers, winding from the mountain tops far down to the valleys.

After thousands of years, when this age of ice was passing away, we find our Pacific Coast was slowly sinking, while the waters of the sea were creeping higher and higher until all of our coast valley lay drowned beneath the ocean. The Pacific Ocean pushed the waters of the lower Columbia further and still further inland until after a long period of time they stood three hundred feet or more higher at the mouth of the Willamette than they do today. From the present site of Astoria to near that of St. Helens the old Columbia became a grand entrance channel, from five to twenty miles in width and eighty miles or more in length, broad and deep enough to float the greatest fleet of battleships.

It is doubtful if the Columbia river itself ever received more

water from the mountains than it did at this time, for its numerous tributaries were fed by many melting glaciers still lingering from the age of ice. In some places where the river gorge was narrow, as at the Cascades, the waters must have been very deep. While beyond The Dalles, near the mouth of the Des Chutes, there was a large "lake like extension of the river" where this great volume of water could quietly write its own history, for here it deposited layer after layer of sediment in which it carefully buried the bones and teeth of the animals that roamed on its shores or were washed down from the mountains when this lake stood over two hundred and fifty feet above the present surface of the Columbia. At this time, too, the Walla Walla Valley and the Valley of the Yakima were flooded and were writing other chapters of the same old history.

If the encroachment of the sea crowded back the Columbia until it produced such high water in Eastern Oregon and Washington, what was its effect upon the valley of the Willamette? When the waters stood over three hundred feet above their present level at the mouth of the Willamette they evidently covered the whole valley from the coast mountains to the Cascades and from the Scappoose Mountains on the north, to the hills that surround Eugene on the south. And it was a beautiful body of water, one hundred and twenty miles in length and fifty miles or more in width, for not only was the level valley covered but the waters had quietly climbed the lower slopes of the foothills until they stood far above the present altitude of the church spires of Portland and Salem.

In the northern part of this Willamette Sound the Chehalem Mountains formed a fine wooded island from which could be seen the broad bay that covered Tualatin plains, on whose waters one might have sailed more than a hundred feet above the present towns of Forest Grove and Hillsboro. Across a narrow straight from Chehalem was the island of the Dundee Hills and from both of these elevations could be seen the great expanse of waters and the many distant snowpeaks of the Cascade Mountains. Perhaps the largest of these islands was

the present Polk County Hills reaching from near Salem northwest to Amity. Then there was the island of the Waldo Hills and Knox's, Ward's and Peterson's Buttes of Linn County, while far to the south there were small low lying islands, the buttes of Lane County, and old Spencer towering above them all in his solemn dignity.

We have seen that Oregon still had many glaciers, that were remnants of the age of ice.¹ Glaciers, as you know, are only slowly moving and solidly frozen rivers. But the waters of a river pass swiftly on leaving the larger stones found in their pathway, while a glacier slowly reaches out or down and freezes to the loose stones as it passes on, making them a part of its own frozen mass. When in the progress of its journey it reaches warmer waters, a great mass of ice often splits off from the front of the glaciers and the iceberg sails away like a phantom ship, carrying the frozen load of rocks which it has gathered in the heart of the far distant mountains. It was so on the Willamette Sound. We have no native granite in the valley, but throughout its entire length from near Portland and Forest Grove to near Eugene, granite boulders, varying from hand specimens to the weight of several tons, were dropped into the Willamette Sound by melting icebergs. An eminent authority assures us that very large boulders found in Yamhill County are of British-American type of granite. And these must have been carried through Puget Sound across the Columbia Valley and into Willamette Sound from some point beyond our northern boundary.

PART II

For ages before the ice period many varieties of the horse and camel had made their home in Oregon. But as the climate became colder a part of these evidently migrated to South America, while it is thought many may have died of some epi-

¹ The Eagle Creek Mountains of Wallowa County, the Elk Horn Mountains of Baker County, the Stein Mountains of Harney County, all had their glaciers. Mt. Hood and the Three Sisters and probably all the high peaks of the Cascade Range had their many and diverging glaciers.

demic, or have been killed by fierce wolves or other flesh-eating animals. From whatever cause our long line American horses and camels seem to have entirely disappeared. But in spite of the loss of the camel and the horse, some very large animals lived on the shores of the Willamette Sound.

There was a great ground sloth, the *Mylodon*, whose ancestors had recently come from South America over the newly-made Isthmus of Panama. He was larger than the rhinoceros, a great, clumsy creature with massive limbs armed with long, stout claws. Professor Owen, the English scientist, thought that instead of climbing trees, as do his smaller modern relatives, *Mylodon* planted himself firmly on his great heels and broad, stout tail, then grasped the tree with his strong arms and worked and wrestled until the tree was either broken off or pulled up by the roots, when he was ready to dine on its juicy twigs and leaves. He seems not to have been a very dangerous animal and perhaps could not defend himself against the wolves, bears and great cats that must have been so common in our Oregon woods.

There was also a large ancestor of the buffalo, the Broad Faced Ox, with horns larger and head wider than the modern buffalo, and skull so thick that it left but little room for brains. It lived along the Columbia River and undoubtedly roamed in herds all over the northwest.

But perhaps the most common animal around the Willamette Sound was the elephant. There were at least two kinds, the *Mastodon* and the *Mammoth*. The *Mastodon* was much like the elephants we have seen in the circus or menagerie, except as to its grinding teeth. It must have found abundant food in Oregon, for it lived in part upon the tender shoots of spruce and fir trees. But the most interesting of the elephant family was the enormous mammoth which is said to have "weighed more than twice as much as the largest modern elephant and was almost one-third taller." He lived in all parts of North America and Europe and some very fine specimens or mummies, after being kept in cold storage for thousands of years, were taken from the ice or frozen ground of Siberia, with not

only the skeleton but the muscles, skin and hair all in a fine state of preservation. These northern specimens—and perhaps all Mammoths—had a mane and a coat of long, dark hair with short wool, reddish brown hair beneath. Their ivory tusks were of very great length, some of them curving downward then out and upward until they formed almost a complete circle. It is difficult to see how this circular tusk could be used for tearing down branches, twigs and leaves for food or as a weapon of warfare, and perhaps this difficulty may partly account for the fact that the fantastic circular form has long since passed away, while the straighter tusks remain until now. Africa is supposed to have been the original home of the elephant and our American forms traveled over a land bridge into Europe on through Asia and over another land bridge into Alaska.

PART III

The limited verdure of the age of ice was a chapter of the past, for the climate of the Willamette Sound was warmer and the forests even richer and more varied than we find them now. We would expect to find grand forests of pine, fir, spruce, redwood, cedar and hemlock trees and against this dark background of conifers to see the star-like blossoms and light green foliage of the dogwood, the creamy tassels of the ocean spray and the golden yellow of the Oregon grape, just as we see them now. The islands, too, would have their many grand old oaks, their mountain laurels, rhododendrons and flowering currants and beneath them all a bright carpet of many flowers.

Among the birds, too, we should expect to find many of our modern friends. The bright oriole with its long pendant nest, the many warblers and their sweet songs, the meadow lark with notes so full of exultant joy or of tender pathos that, heard in our land of long ago, they would almost seem to foreshadow the coming of the human soul.

But was there no human eye to see? Were there no shelters of skins and boughs under the oaks and firs of those picturesque

islands? Were no canoes waiting among the willows and the maples along the shore while their owners hunted elk and bear upon the mountain side? Were the voices of happy children never heard across those waters? We do not know. There might have been, for it is well known that man lived in South America at this time, and it has long been claimed, though perhaps not quite proven, that man lived in North America and even in California before the time of which we write. While Europe has a rich chapter of very ancient human history, telling of the "Cave Dwellers," who lived in England, France, Belgium and other countries, when this same Mammoth elephant still lived in Europe and America.

Let us borrow for a time some of those people who made their homes in caves, and in imagination transfer them to our Willamette Sound. No scientist will object, for they really belong here and this old Oregon was far too beautiful to have no human beings hunting in its forests, fishing in its streams or building little villages upon its wooded islands.

But what kind of people were the Cave Dwellers? We suppose they must have been savages, but they were certainly a very interesting people,—perhaps the ancient ancestors of the Eskimos of the far north. They lived in caves because they found many caverns already fashioned in the limestone hills of Europe. They knew nothing of metals, such as bronze or iron, but made their weapons of chipped flint and horn or bone. They had spearheads, scrapers and large implements of chipped flint. They made lances and bodkins and bone needles and used cooking hearths, so we know the women had already learned to cook and sew. But they also carved in bone and ivory and drew pictures of the Mammoth and the reindeer, the horse and ox, and made drawings of fish and flowers. Their heads, too, show well-developed brain power, and we know their minds must have been quick and active for they were surrounded by all kinds of fierce, hungry animals, many of them larger and stronger than man himself, and yet he held his own and prospered while many varieties of those great animals have long since become extinct.

Let us imagine one of these primitive men standing on some eminence and looking out over our beautiful Willamette Sound. He sees the long, graceful shore line as it winds in and out of the many harbors formed by the submerged valleys of the smaller streams. He sees the broad expanse of waters with its many picturesque islands. He sees the stately evergreens, the great oaks and beautiful flowering shrubs upon the sunny hillsides. He sees the grand Cascade Mountains crowned with their lofty snowpeaks. But does he see all this as the Mammoth sees it, or does its beauty touch his soul?

When the earth trembles, as it often does, and loud rumblings come from the mountains, what does he think? He looks toward Mt. Hood in its pure majestic beauty, does he worship the mountain, or does his mind rise above and worship its creator? Suddenly he sees white clouds of steam pouring from the mountain top, then with violent earthquake and loud explosions, he sees showers of glowing cinders and stones and jets of fiery liquid hurled far upward into the dense black cloud now spreading above the mountain. Why does he turn suddenly away from the awful grandeur of the scene and throw out his long bare arms and lift his eyes to the pure blue sky, where only one white cloud is drifting? Is it the dawn of prayer? When later on an iceberg comes gliding slowly across the waters, its beautiful icy pinnacles glistening in the moonlight, perhaps it seems to him the wandering spirit of that snowpeak driven out by the wild demon of fire.

Sometime while digging an excavation through the rich, deep soil the old Willamette Sound has left us, some one may find the bones and large grinding teeth of the Mammoth elephant, and mingled with them may be human bones or human implements of chipped flint and a fragment of carving, perhaps even a picture of the long-haired Mammoth drawn with flint upon a piece of ivory. This discovery would be of great interest to scientific men, although it would not surprise them, for it has long been considered among the possibilities. But to us who are interested in Oregon's history it would open a rich and very ancient chapter of human life.

You know it was Professor Condon who discovered the Willamette Sound, and that he also first described and named it. In his book, "The Two Islands," we find these thoughts: "That fine old Willamette Sound may, in the days of the Mammoth and the Broad Faced Ox, have welcomed to its scores of sheltered harbors, the ancient hunter, who, in his canoe, if he had one, floated one hundred feet or more above the present altitude of the church spires of Portland and Salem. A few more mill races dug, a few more excavations of winter floods, more careful search where mountain streams washed their trophies to their burial under still waters, and the question, Did man, too, live there then? may be set at rest as it regards the Willamette Sound. Oregon does not answer it yet."

RISE AND EARLY HISTORY OF
POLITICAL PARTIES IN
OREGON—VI

By Walter Carleton Woodward

CHAPTER XIII
The Issues of War

CHAPTER XIII

THE ISSUES OF WAR

It has been seen that from the beginning of the war, the Statesman had been most energetic in support of the Administration and most aggressive in demanding a vigorous war policy. It not only supported the Administration but attempted to lead, or rather, drive it. The first manifestation of dissatisfaction, in fact, was occasioned by what Bush termed the one remarkable phase of the war—the leniency of federal authorities toward traitors. He complained that the most notorious and virulent offenders, taken even in arms, were almost invariably treated more like honored guests than felons that they were. He maintained that there was such a thing as sinning against humanity by overdoses of kindness and that the war would prove a contemptible failure if a “sickly sentimentalism” should let the “demons of secession go free, to repeat again the dread tragedy of rebellion.”¹

For the first time, the Statesman distinctly questions the Government's policy in an editorial, October 6, 1862, on “The President's Proclamation.” This referred to the preliminary proclamation issued September 22 by Lincoln, that unless the inhabitants of the revolting states returned to their allegiance by January 1, the slaves should be declared free. In the first place, such a policy at this time was held to be unnecessary and impracticable. But, more to the point, were the words: “It is not the loss that will fall upon the slave states that we object to. . . . but the Government will have on hand at the close of the war a ‘Negro question’ which will present more difficult phases than any shape in which the question has ever yet been seen.” Another instance was this of the accuracy with which Bush foresaw and foretold the results which were to grow out of the war. From this time on the Statesman became more and more critical of Lincoln's policies. In a private letter to Nesmith, Deady wrote, October 22: “Bush is turning ‘oppo-

¹ Statesman, June 30, 1863, editorial, “What Shall be Done with the Traitors?”

sitionist' and as a matter of course is regaining his health. Supporting a government is not his specialty."

From the latter part of 1862 onward, from the exigencies arising from the prosecution of a great civil war, many difficult questions of policy arose, as regards both men and measures. The solution of these various questions disclosed the political differences existing in the ranks of those supporting the Government, which had thus far been scarcely noticeable. Opposition to Lincoln's administration began to organize. As representative of this general opposition, and showing the several grounds on which it was based, the attitude of the Oregon Statesman furnishes an excellent example, and as such will be followed in some detail.

At the same time that Emancipation was being forecasted as an issue, the personal element was also being injected into the situation by the removal of General McClellan, a Democrat, as commander-in-chief of the armies.² Bush's loyalty to McClellan led him to criticize Lincoln severely for trying out so many generals.³ He accused him of weakness and vacillation in yielding his better judgment to the clamor of radicals and fanatics of whom he said: "the nigger is their chief stock in trade." Referring to the Union Democratic victories in the fall elections in the East, Bush interpreted them, not as an expression against the war but as "simply a victory against party dogmas in the conduct of the war."⁴ He contended that the radical Republicans or politicians who had elected Lincoln had cried, "all parties are dead," adding sotto voce, "except the Republican party." Where they were not in the majority they had said, "away with parties," but where they were independent they had run Republican tickets. Democrats were expected not only to cease to become Democrats but to become Republicans, supporting the Administration in all its party measures,—a

² "We have the news of McClellan's removal here. People and papers who know something about the merits of the matters are expending their opinions freely pro and con and it looks as if the matter would be taken into the next Presidential election, provided that political carnival is not deferred until after the war."—Deady to Nesmith, Nov. 22.

³ Statesman, Nov. 3, editorial, "The President and His Generals."

⁴ Statesman, Nov. 17, editorial, "The Lesson of the Hour."

demand "too impudent for concession." The result had been that the loyal Democrats had formed Union Democratic tickets wherever Republicans had made party nominations and had elected them so generally as to strike the country with complete surprise. Bush thus gave evidence of growing restiveness under his close associations with Republicanism. As a striking sequel to Dr. McBride's prediction made in February,⁵ is the following extract from a letter of Deady to Nesmith, dated November 22: "Bush is breaking ground against his Republican brethren and the time is not far distant when he and they will quit the entente cordial—it only exists in name now."

The Argus strongly supported the policy of the Emancipation Proclamation and on December 6, 1862, for opposing it made a venomous attack on Bush in an editorial under the suggestive caption: "The Lion's Skin Torn From a Donkey."⁶ This editorial, while intemperate in language and radical in its presentation, presents so good a view, both of the attitude of the Republican radicals toward the Statesman at this time and of the position which Bush had assumed toward the Administration, that it is freely quoted in the following excerpts:

"Now that it has made all the money out of the Union party it expects to, this sheet has thrown off its 'Union' cloak far enough to show its teeth which are now gnashing in real Corvallis Union style, at the President for proclaiming freedom to the slaves, at Congress for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and at the Government generally for adopting what it terms the policy of 'freedom-loving Austria' for suspending the writ of habeas corpus. . . . This sheet lets no opportunity slip to charge the Government with speculation and fraud, to cry down and depreciate its currency,⁷ to rail at anti-slavery men as abolitionists. . . . and in short to play into the hands of rebellion by such sly jeers and villainous false-

⁵ Supra, p. 342.

⁶ "Bush and Little Preach (Billy Adams) are throwing mud at each other in fine style. The Statesman begins to read as of yore."—Deady to Nesmith, Dec. 18. (Adams still wrote for the Argus though Craig was now in direct management of the paper.)

⁷ The Argus vigorously urged the acceptance and use of the legal tender notes at par.

hoods as Pat Malone⁸ has been retailing in much better style for months past. While such men as Malone deserve to be beaten with rods, he of the Salem concern deserves to be thrashed with scorpions. . . . The President's blow at the cause of the rebellion. . . . gave the secession squirt at Salem a long coveted opportunity to plunge his carcass into the stinking pool of treason, with his 'Union' cloak drawn closely round his breech as a temptation to real Union men to follow. The same instinct and innate love of doing something dirty that led this black-hearted villain and white-livered scoundrel, among our Oregon volunteers in 1855, to stab Whigs has now prompted the whining cur to pin his nose to the seat of McClellan's breeches and raise a yell over his removal as a persecution of a Democrat. . . . The whole object of this sheet is to assist in breaking down the Administration. . . . It is for the Union if slavery can be preserved, to again stink and rule the government. . . . Some men may differ with us, but we have no time to argue with those who are green enough to wish to carry adders in their bosoms till they are stung to death If there is any hope for the success of pure principles in Oregon, Union men must scotch this new head of the hydra-headed snake of secession at once."

On the other hand, the feeling manifested toward Bush by the organized Democracy was no more cordial, as is made evident by Malone in the Corvallis Union: "The political harlot of the Salem Vampire has had a new revelation! He has learned a new 'lesson' from the signs of the 'hour.' But he has reached the end of his tether. The wriggings of the reptile in his efforts to steal into the Democratic party only breeds a big disgust."⁹

In defending himself and like Union Democrats, Bush showed how zealously they had upheld the Administration and only hesitated now at the manifestation of its growing partisan tendencies. He charged that there was a growing movement to reorganize the government as well as a rebellion to destroy it, referring to the determined efforts to free the Negroes. He

⁸ Editor of the Corvallis Union at this time.

⁹ Quoted in *Argus*, Feb. 14, 1863.

alluded to Gov. Andrew's threat that Massachusetts would give no more troops unless the slaves were emancipated, and intimated that those stood better by the Administration who criticized and acquiesced than those who coerced, overawed and bullied it against its convictions. He declared he should continue to stand by the Administration in all matters of right and criticise it when he thought it was wrong.¹⁰ In allusion to the offer of a bet which had been made that within three months Bush would be a red hot secessionist, he replied that while he was in favor of maintaining the Government at every hazard, he wouldn't destroy it, either to enslave or liberate "niggers;" that he believed it to be a government of white men, and that if the liberties of that race could be preserved, he regarded it of comparatively little consequence what fate might betide the "nigger."¹¹ He declared that the radicals' test of loyalty had become, not, "Are you for the Union?" but "Are you for Emancipation?"¹² As for him, he was for the Union first and the Union only. The Emancipation Proclamation¹³ and the removal of McClellan were the two rocks on which broke the Statesman's loyalty to Lincoln.

In March, 1863, Bush laid down his scepter as editor of the Statesman. C. P. Crandall and E. M. Waite secured the paper, the former acting as editor. The policy continued to be that which had been adopted by Bush—that of criticism of the Administration. In November of the same year, the Argus and the Statesman were consolidated under the name of Statesman, the paper being published by the Oregon Printing & Publishing Company, the directors of which were J. W. P. Huntington, Rufus Mallory, D. W. Craig, C. P. Crandall and C. N. Terry.¹⁴ Radical Republicans and Douglas Democrats were thus associated together in the directorate. Loyalty to the Union was reaffirmed and with the change of management the tone of the

¹⁰ Statesman, Dec. 1, 1862, editorial, "Standing by the Administration."

¹¹ Ibid., Dec. 8.

¹² Statesman, Dec. 15.

¹³ "After 12 o'clock to-night I suppose there will be no slaves in the rebellious states—so Abraham's proclamation says. The shackles will fall at his word, I 'spect."—Bush to Deady, Dec. 31.

¹⁴ Statesman, Nov. 2.

paper changed. There was no more depreciation of Lincoln and laudation of McClellan. The Statesman resumed its unwavering allegiance of 1861.

As far as actual political events were concerned, the year 1863 was an uneventful one in Oregon. There were no political campaigns—no elections. However, it was a critical year. The various fortunes of the conflict in the East were closely followed in distant Oregon. As the prospect for the success of the Union arms grew darker, secession sympathizers in Oregon became more rampant. The Dalles Mountaineer, a Douglas Democrat paper, announced near the end of the year that six Oregon newspapers had been suppressed as treasonable,¹⁵ in the following order: Albany Democrat, Jacksonville Gazette, Eugene Register, Albany Inquirer, Portland Advertiser and Corvallis Union. Their suppression was acquiesced in by the Mountaineer, but it expressed a doubt as to whether they had done half as much injury to the Union cause as the blind partisan Republican papers which had steadily endeavored to instil the belief that to be a friend of the Union it was necessary to subscribe to the doctrines of such crazy fanatics as Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. It charged that the aim of "these miserable apologies for newspapers" had been to force every man either into the abolition or secession ranks, and that apparently it had been a matter of indifference with them which of the traitorous factions he joined. Evidence is thus furnished from another source of the Union Democratic sentiment against emancipation.

A series of resolutions was introduced October 2, 1862, in the Confederate Congress and referred to the committee on foreign affairs, recognizing the practical neutrality of the States of California and Oregon and the Territories of Washington and Nevada. The resolutions suggested the advantages which would result to the people thereof upon an immediate assertion on their part of their independence of the United States and proposed the formation of a league, offensive and defensive, between the said states and Territories and the Confederate

¹⁵ Quoted in Statesman, Dec. 1, 1863.

States of America.¹⁶ It was well understood in Oregon that the plotters for a Pacific Republic were merely biding their time, waiting to strike until the further success of the Confederate armies should render the Union cause hopelessly desperate.¹⁷ It was for this reason, together with the danger of Indian outbreaks, that the companies of the Oregon volunteer regiment of cavalry, which had been enlisted for service in the war, were retained in the Northwest.

The organization of secession sentiment in Oregon was represented in the Knights of the Golden Circle. There were about ten circles in the state—among them two at Portland, two at Salem and one each at Scio, Albany, Jacksonville and in Yamhill County.¹⁸ Fortunately, their operations were seriously handicapped, as two spies employed by Oregon's Adjutant-General, C. A. Reed, kept him fully informed of the work and plans of the Knights. A plan to assassinate Reed and capture the arsenal and several attempts to capture government arms are declared by him to have been apprehended and frustrated. Complete lists of the membership of the order were secured and on these lists appeared the names of nearly all the prominent Democratic¹⁹ editors and politicians. The Knights divided on the question of the overt act in connection with the scheme of a Pacific Republic. Some were anxious to raise the standard of revolt in Oregon while others dissented.

But in the dark days of 1863 the secession Democrats were not the only ones to whom the idea of an independent government on the Pacific Coast, appealed. One of the very prominent men in the state, both then and for nearly a half century afterward, a leading participant in the Union movement, argued openly in the state house with the state secretary and treasurer and before the Adjutant-General, in behalf of a Pacific Re-

¹⁶ Reported in *Statesman*, Dec. 8, 1862.

¹⁷ Conversation with Judge Williams.

¹⁸ Statements relative to the Golden Circle are based on a personal interview with C. A. Reed, of Portland, who was Adjutant-General for Oregon during the war.

¹⁹ In this period the term "Democratic," unmodified, refers exclusively to the Democrats who remained in the party organization and opposed the Union movement—the Democrats known as Copperheads and Secession Democrats.

public. "Now is the time to strike," he urged. "We are the natural allies of the South and the North will be in no position to oppose us." The Adjutant-General called him into his office and threatened him with arrest for treason if he repeated the expression of such sentiment. A few Union victories followed and the man in question made a public address in Salem in favor of upholding the Union.²⁰

In the fall of 1863, by which time a considerable number of Union Democrats had broken with the Administration, there were continued references in the press to attempts being made by the Democratic leaders to unite the various factions of their party under one standard.²¹ Many were the defiant allusions made by the *Statesman* during this period to the Copperheads—the peace-at-any-price men, the real allies of the South. At the same time, under its new management, it attacked those who had supported the Union and who still professed to be War Democrats, but who were now in favor of leaguings themselves with the peace or Secession Democrats of the state, thus making the "tail for the snake of secession." To them, represented by such men as Bush, Harding and Thayer, it gave the name of Coppertails. The *Statesman* scoffed at their belief that the Copperheads would permit them to fix up a policy and platform suitable for loyal men to stand upon, and said, "The Democratic party as now constituted, is, nine-tenths of it, for peace at all events."²² In defense of its position it quoted the platform as proposed by James O'Meara, leader of the Oregon Copperheads, the last plank of which read: "We are for peace, now and always, and shall regard any peace honorable that is conformable with the independence of the Northern States."

In the closing days of the year, the Loyal Leagues made their appearance in Oregon. In April the *Statesman* had reported

²⁰ This incident was carefully related to the writer by Mr. Reed with the request that the name be withheld.

²¹ "The secessionists of this state are taking immense trouble to reorganize the 'Democratic party.' Let them reorganize till the archangel blows his trumpet—it won't make them any more numerous. . . . It is still the same old Copperhead brigade. . . . Go ahead, old snake, you can't put on a skin that won't be known and 'spotted.'"—*Statesman*, Dec. 7, 1863.

²² *Statesman*, Dec. 14.

that the New York papers announced that on March 9 a pledge was drawn up and signed by thousands of men in that city, binding the signers under the name of the Loyal National League, to an unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States; to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress rebellion. The League was a secret organization, established to bear the same relation to the Union cause that the Knights of the Golden Circle bore to that of the South. It was also given impetus by the action of those Union Democrats who had broken with the Administration and who were now considered obstructionists by the unconditional supporters of the war. On account of the secret nature of the organization there were no references to it of a local nature by the Republican papers until February 29, 1864, when a leader appeared in the *Statesman*—"Union Leagues—Golden Circles." "The Copperhead mind of this state is terribly alarmed about the introduction of the Loyal Leagues," said the *Statesman*, which, after showing that patriotism was the motive of the one and treason of the other, declared that there ought to be a Loyal League or Union Club in every precinct in the state.

The "Union League of America for the State of Oregon," was organized at Portland, December 14, 1863. The initiative was taken by Governor Gibbs, the organization being effected through a dispensation granted to A. R. Elder of California by the Grand Council of that state.²³ It was provided that the Grand Council should be composed of the twenty-five persons named in the charter and of one delegate from each subordinate council in the state. The officers chosen were: Grand President, Gov. Gibbs; Vice-Presidents, E. D. Shattuck, A. G. Hovey, Stephen Coffin, Thos. Frazar, S. M. Gilmore; treasurer, Addison M. Starr; secretary, H. C. Coulson; marshal, M. F. Mulkey; sentinel, E. L. Jones; herald, E. J. Northrup. Others of prominence among the charter members were W. Lair Hill, Thos. H. Pearne, John H. Mitchell, Dr. Wilson

²³ In July, 1909, Mr. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society Collections, secured possession of the record books of the State League and of the Multnomah Council No. 2, containing in each case the constitution, proceedings and list of members. To these the writer was given access.

Bowlby, W. C. Johnson, Thos. Monteith and Hiram Smith. Dispensations were recorded for the establishment of councils throughout the state. The Drew resolution, to be noticed later, was the only matter of political significance noted in the recorded proceedings of the State Council.

The Multnomah Council, Number 2, was organized at Portland, December 28, and attained a membership of over two hundred. Judge Geo. H. Williams was elected president, Levi Anderson, vice-president, Joseph N. Dolph, assistant vice-president, and J. J. Hoffman, secretary, with other minor officers. The active political work of the League is indicated by action taken at a meeting on March 22, 1864, when a committee was elected to confer with a similar committee from Council No. 10 of South Portland to select suitable persons to be put in nomination for the various city officers. The two councils went into a joint nominating convention, March 26. At the meeting of the Multnomah Council on April 4, resolutions were introduced by J. N. Dolph and adopted, to the effect that no member of the Union League who gave his support or vote in favor of independent candidates of doubtful loyalty, should be considered a reliable Union man. This was the sequel to the action of Amory Holbrook and a few followers in bolting the regular Union nominations in Multnomah County and putting out an independent Union ticket. Division of sentiment apparently followed the passage of the above resolution. On April 12 after "animated discussion" a resolution was passed severely deprecating the conduct of certain members who had talked against the League and had endeavored to persuade persons from becoming members. At the same time, a committee was appointed to solicit the attendance of members at the next meeting, which was indicative of growing indifference. The last meeting of the Multnomah council of which record was made was held May 3, 1864.

At a special meeting of the Grand Council of the State League held April 19 a resolution proposed by Judge Williams was adopted, protesting against the appointment of J. W. Drew as paymaster in the army on the ground that he was a man of

doubtful loyalty and opposed to the Administration, and asking the President to remove him. Copies of the resolution were ordered sent to the National Grand Council at Washington and to the President. This raised the ire of Senator Nesmith, largely responsible for Drew's appointment, and was the occasion of a private expression on his part on the Loyal League in general and on some of the dramatis personæ in particular. "I am ignorant of your opinion of that organization in Oregon called the Loyal League," he wrote to Deady,²⁴ "but I know that your sense of justice, if not your abhorrence of secret political organizations would force you to condemn so low, vile and dirty a trick. For my own part I regard the organization with more detestation than I did the Know Nothings. Its origin and perpetuation in our state is only for the benefit of such lying, dirty demagogues as Gospel Pearne and Guts Gibbs who own, control and run it in Oregon." And Nesmith, though elected to the United States Senate in 1860 as a Democrat had been loyally supporting Lincoln in the prosecution of the war. The Loyal League had a brief course in Oregon. It was organized from patriotic motives, but judging from the records of the councils examined, it found no direct mission to fulfill and dissipated its energies in little political bickerings which were its undoing.

The campaign of 1864 opened early in the year. The Union State Central Committee met at Salem, January 6, and issued a call for the various precinct and county conventions, leading up to the state convention to be held at Albany, March 30.²⁵ The Statesman urged all loyal men to enter upon the campaign with vigor. The Union element of the state lacked organization, it contended. The Copperheads were declared to be using all the whips and spurs of party drill—clubs, open and secret, and lodges of the Golden Circle, through which "vile lies, false teachings and rankling passion" were disseminated. Union party meetings began to be held over the state. One of the most important of the early meetings was one held at LaFayette

²⁴ From College Hill, Ohio, July 18, 1864.

²⁵ Statesman, Jan. 11, 1864.

February 23, addressed by Judge Williams, Judge Boise and T. H. Pearne, who were the principal speakers in the campaign, on the Union party side. The meeting heartily endorsed Lincoln's policies, including his amnesty and reconstruction policy, decried the "peace, peace" cry of the opposition and denounced the Democratic party for its affiliations with secessionists.

Despite the patriotic assertions made at the time the Union movement was launched, patriotism and politics had refused to become divorced. As long as there were remunerative offices to be filled, this was inevitable. Late in 1862, Bush had claimed that the Republicans in general were insincere in their expressed desire to ignore party lines. But through all the many political vicissitudes the Statesman had succeeded in maintaining what was an apparent life lease on the lucrative office of state printer. And now the Oregonian had some very pertinent comments to make upon the subject of non-partisan patriotism.²⁶ It assented to the idea that the Union party should be conducted without reference to past political affiliations of its members. Not, it declared, because the Republican party as such, had done anything inconsistent with the Union organization, "for the last is the natural result, the mere continuation of the former. It is in fact the same, with a different name, adopted to save the political pride of those who did not feel disposed, even for the sake of the country, to call themselves Republicans." Contending that the Republicans were greatly in the majority in the Union party, the Oregonian asserted that it could not be denied that they had manifested a generous disposition to share honorable positions with their former opponents. In this the Oregonian avowed acquiescence. "We are opposed, however," it continued, "to the disposition which is sometimes too plainly manifested, to demand as the price of adherence to the cause of patriotism the entire control of the Union party, not for its welfare, but that those who have been managers of the Democratic party may maintain their position as political leaders. It is all very well to say, let there be no distinctions in regard to former politics, but when this is only observed on one side, dis-

²⁶ Oregonian, Feb. 13.

trust is awakened. The Union party has been cheated by this kind of management and for that and other good reasons, sincere Union men will insist that there shall be frank and decided devotion to the cause of the country alone." This tacit appeal to "sincere Union men" was evidently efficacious as Mr. Pittock, publisher of the *Oregonian*, received the nomination the next month for state printer!

There was this inevitable jealousy between the two parties making up the Union organization. There was also the factor of personal interest and ambition, always quick to make capital out of an appeal to patriotism. The Douglas County Union convention condemned the practice "prevalent in this state" of men who held offices, actively engaging in political meetings and influencing men by promise of patronage, as a practice calculated to corrupt conventions and legislatures.²⁷ Furthermore, there was political jealousy between different sections of the state. Southern Oregon demanded political recognition. The *Oregon Sentinel* of Jacksonville asserted, March 12, 1863, that when the war broke out, "whisky-soaked, taunting treason was hopefully jubilant in Southern Oregon" and that loyal men felt that but little was wanting to create revolution and partisan warfare in their midst. But the treasonable doctrines that had been taught us as the tenets of the Democratic party had been spurned and refuted, the wavering had been recalled to their allegiance, and now the southern part of the state asked in no uncertain tone for the nomination by the Union party of Orange Jacobs as Congressman, or of some southern man who would look out for the interests of his own district.²⁸ Subjects to which the Southern Oregonians demanded attention were their mining interests, the opening and protection of an emigrant road into their section and a proper disposal of the Indians which were on their borders. The Jackson county convention in its instructions for Jacobs, declared that the northern part of the state having had four representatives and five Senators in the past four years, the South should have the undisputed

²⁷ Deady correspondence, March 23, to *San Francisco Bulletin*.

²⁸ *Oregon Sentinel*, March 19, 1864.

right and privilege to furnish the next Representative. At the same time, it passed the resolution: "It is indispensable to the unity, harmony and success of the Union organization that we ignore all local issues and political divisions on local interests, which only inure to the advantage and success of factionists and the common enemy!"²⁹ A good example, this, of the difficulty, which characterized the period, of harmonizing political theory and practice. As the war advanced the political considerations—party, personal and sectional—tended to encroach more and more upon the purely patriotic.

The Union State Convention heartily endorsed the war measures of the Administration, including especially the Emancipation Proclamation. The prospective amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery was championed. The Amnesty Proclamation was approved as a peace measure both honorable and magnanimous. Locally, a resolution was adopted against taxing mines—"a Morgan for the election to catch miners' votes for somebody."³⁰ It was the one concession granted to the Southern Oregon voters.

On the first ballot for nomination of a Congressman to succeed J. R. McBride, the leading candidates and the votes given them were: McBride 11, W. C. Johnson 9, Dr. Wilson Bowlley 4, O. Humason 15, J. H. D. Henderson 34, Joel Palmer 10, Orange Jacobs 25.³¹ The fifth and deciding vote stood: Henderson 60, Palmer 31, Jacobs 21. Henderson, a Presbyterian minister and a school teacher, might be considered a charter member of the Republican party and represented the radical element in it. This was his first appearance in politics, except for his canvass for a seat in the legislature in 1854 on the Maine Law ticket. Sectional jealousies were largely responsible for the defeat of McBride for renomination. Oregon was at this time asking for a branch United States mint and McBride's disposition toward having it located

²⁹ Oregon Sentinel, March 19, 1864.

³⁰ Deady to the San Francisco Bulletin.

³¹ Proceedings, in Statesman, April 4.

at The Dalles raised a strong feeling against him in the western and most populous part of the state.

The vote on state printer³² stood: Pittock of the *Oregonian*, 57; Craig, of the *Statesman*, 50. For the first time since it was established in 1851, the *Statesman* lost the state printing office. H. N. George, Geo. L. Woods and J. F. Gazley were nominated for Presidential electors. As delegates to the National Convention,³³ T. H. Pearne, J. W. Souther, F. Charman, M. Hirsch, Josiah Failing and Hiram Smith were selected and instructed to vote for the renomination of Lincoln.

In commenting upon the results of the convention, the *Oregon Sentinel* said that considering the strength that Mr. Jacobs carried into the convention, "we are prepared to congratulate Congressional aspirants in Southern Oregon that there is no show for you." However, in its next issue, April 9, it attacks, both on the grounds of principle and policy, the proposition of a few disgruntled ones to bring out an independent Union candidate. The latter were advised that if they wanted to get the Union party of Oregon to send a citizen of the southern counties to Congress or the Senate, they must change their tactics; that the politicians of the Willamette had the power to control all these little matters and that nothing was to be gained by fighting or finding fault with them.

While factional differences were making their appearance in the Union ranks, there was by no means entire harmony in the Democratic party. The Southern secession element was for peace at any price. On the other hand, many of those who were now returning to their old party allegiance, dissatisfied with Lincoln's administration, still professed to be War Democrats and demanded the continued prosecution of the war—but only for the maintenance of the Union. Illustrative of this latter attitude is the following resolution passed by the Polk County Democratic Convention: "We are in favor of prose-

³² The election of a printer at this time was necessitated by the death of Harvey Gordon who had been elected in 1862.

³³ It is significant that according to the proceedings, the references in the convention were merely to the National Convention, the prefix Republican being studiously omitted.

cuting the war for the purpose of suppressing rebellion, maintaining the Constitution and executing the laws; but we are opposed to any war for the abolition of slavery, or for any other purpose but for the maintenance of the Constitution and Union." In contrast to this was the following statement of O'Meara, one of the leaders of the secession Democrats: "The Democratic party is opposed to the present unnatural, unjust, savage abolition war. Our leaders must say so in obedience to the party command. There is no such thing as a prosecution of this war for the restoration of the Union and the supremacy of the Constitution."

The platform adopted by the Democratic State Convention which met at Albany, April 13, demonstrated the truth of the prediction which had been made by the Statesman, that the Copperheads would erect no platform upon which loyal War Democrats could consistently stand. The first plank renewed faith in and devotion to the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-1799.³⁴ There was an "irrepressible conflict" between this and the third plank which condemned the actions of the rebellious states. This is explainable by the evident, labored attempt to satisfy two elements in the same platform. However, the same resolution went on to condemn and denounce "that usurpation of tyrannical authority which prohibits the return of those states to the Union, until they shall have made their constitutions conform, not to the will of their respective people, but to suit the anti-slavery views of President Lincoln and his party." An amendment of substitution was offered to this resolution declaring that the Union had not been dissolved and that when any seceded state should be brought back to its allegiance either voluntarily or by force, it should be restored to all its constitutional rights and privileges, free from all Congressional or executive dictation. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 76 to 11, demonstrating the secession strength in the convention. Usurpation, tyranny, fraud and all violations of the Constitution and laws were condemned wholesale in the usual terms. As a special mark of denunciation,

³⁴ Proceedings, Statesman, April 18.

the abolition of slavery was singled out and characterized as unjustifiable, revolutionary and dangerous. Another attempt to bait the Douglas Democrats is found in the resolution: "We endorse the sentiment of Senator Douglas that the Government was made on a white basis for white men," etc. The Convention declared it would hail with joy, peace on the basis of the Crittenden Compromise or any honorable basis and condemned all attempts to hinder such settlement as evincing unworthy partisan hate and malice. With a fine show of patriotic zeal the assembled Democrats capped their resolutions with a declaration against all secret political organizations as being subversive of our Republican form of government! Adequate mental reservation is to be presumed to have been made by the Knights of the Golden Circle in attendance.

The fact that Ex-Governor Whiteaker was chairman of the convention is suggestive of its political animus. Col. J. K. Kelly, who had made the race for Congress as the candidate of the National Democrats in 1858, was now named as the regular Democratic nominee.³⁵ He received 71 votes and his competitor, Benj. Hayden, 14. No nomination was made for state printer. A. E. Wait, Benj. Hayden and S. F. Chadwick were nominated for Presidential electors and Benj Stark, L. P. Higbee, W. McMillan, Jefferson Howell, John Whiteaker and N. T. Caton were elected delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

In the campaign which followed, the first plank of the Democratic platform was made the center of attack by the Union party. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were shown to be the source of nullification and secession doctrines and Oregon Democracy was charged with at last fighting under its true colors. Lane came out from his seclusion and made a few "Copperhead, secession speeches."³⁶ Governor Gibbs and Judge Williams, especially the latter, were the leading Union

³⁵ "However he may dislike abolitionism, he does not believe in the anarchical and seditious teachings of the Resolutions of 1798. He is dragged into the canvass by those who desire to have the benefit of his ability and good name. If the party could elect, he would have been the last man selected."—Deady, April 20, 1864, to San Francisco Bulletin.

³⁶ Statesman, May 30.

speakers. The Democrats made a desperate effort to carry the state or at least to win enough seats in the legislature to give them a voice in the election of the next United States Senator. To this end they centered their efforts in certain counties.³⁷ In the June election Henderson was victorious over Kelly by a majority of 2643, the latter carrying but the four counties—Columbia, Jackson, Josephine and Umatilla.³⁸ The Democrats elected but seven members of the legislature; two in the senate, one each from Josephine and Linn; five in the house, three from Jackson, and one each from Josephine and Umatilla.³⁹ The member from Umatilla was La Fayette Lane, son of the old General.

It was for the legislature of 1864 to elect a successor to Senator Harding.⁴⁰ Both Harding and Nesmith had been giving the Lincoln administration good support in the United States Senate. Oregon's Republican Congressman, McBride, had written to the *Argus* March 13, 1863, lauding the two Democratic Senators for devoting their energies to the support of Lincoln in overthrowing the rebellion. The *Oregonian*, March 18, 1864, cheerfully credited Harding with having "generally reflected the wishes of the majority of his constituents in his congressional action." Nevertheless, neither Harding nor Nesmith was in accord with the Republican policies that were rapidly being developed by the issues of the war. They, and particularly Harding, had taken positions that were not at all satisfactory to those to whom they owed their election.⁴¹ They were far from representative of the Union party in Oregon in 1864. Hence, naturally, Harding was not considered seriously for re-election. The two recognized candidates were Judge Williams and T. H. Pearne.

³⁷ In Polk county, voters were colonized in large numbers from outside districts to vote for the Democratic ticket (see *Statesman*, June 6).

³⁸ Official returns in *Statesman*, July 18.

³⁹ *Statesman*, Sept. 5.

⁴⁰ When Nesmith and Baker were elected Senators in 1860, the latter was elected for the short term, ending in 1864. On his death, Stark filled the vacancy by appointment until the Legislature of 1862 elected Harding to serve the remaining two years.

⁴¹ *Oregonian*, Dec. 19, 1863.

In the organization of the legislature John H. Mitchell was elected president of the senate and now started on his long political career which was to be inextricably woven with the political history of the state. The senatorial campaign of 1864 was singularly free from any suggestion of "unclean practice."⁴² Deady wrote to the Bulletin, September 13: "The matter is decently and quietly managed on all hands. No open rooms, no free drinks or eleemosynary eatables. Plain, earnest men are gathered about in little groups discussing the election, with reference to the good of the country and some particular project or person." The first ballot, taken September 15, stood: Williams 27, Pearne 20, W. H. Watkins 2, J. F. Miller 6. The vote for the latter represented the Democratic strength minus one vote, that of Curl, who voted for Williams. The third ballot resulted in election, Williams getting 31 votes, Pearne 16, Watkins 2 and Miller 6.

At last Judge Williams realized the ambition from the achievement of which his pronounced free state doctrine had heretofore been largely instrumental in preventing him. He was at this time considered a Republican practically, though he had never avowedly become so. It was at least well understood that he would never go back to the Democratic party.⁴³ Considering the great place which Oregon's "Grand Old Man" has had for over a half century in the history of the state, the characterization which was made of him at this time by Judge Deady, is full of interest:⁴⁴ "He is clever in both the English and American sense of that much used and much abused word; is generous and unsuspicious and does not long cherish ill will towards any one. Personally, he is popular with the people and his election is very generally satisfactory or cheerfully acquiesced in. . . . Though earnest, he is not destructive and will help build up rather than tear down. He is a good popular speaker, clear and distinct in his ideas, always forcible, often

⁴² "The cleanest in the history of the state," said Judge Williams to the writer. "I didn't spend a dollar and used no influence whatever with members, and I don't believe Pearne did."

⁴³ Personal statement of Judge Williams.

⁴⁴ Correspondence, Sept. 19, to San Francisco Bulletin.

eloquent and sometimes rises into the region of imagination and adorns his speech with pure poetic gems.⁴⁵ . . . Judge Williams is a man of today and draws his inspiration from the associations and wants of the present."

At this session of the legislature the notorious Viva Voce ballot law, by which the Democrats had made "daylight shine through the Know Nothing Wigwams" in 1855, again put in its periodical appearance. A bill of repeal was introduced in the house and was supported by the five Democratic members and opposed by all the Union members, in the realization that circumstances alter cases or, as an onlooker put it, that "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the Presidential campaign was in progress, and was rapidly becoming very active in Oregon. "Old Abe" and "Little Mac" were the watchwords of the contending parties. Clubs were formed in every direction. The Loyal Leagues were being disbanded by the Union men and Lincoln and Johnson clubs substituted for them. Many prominent Democrats who had been identified with the Union organization were now supporting McClellan, among them, Bush, Nesmith, Harding, Thayer, Hayden, Grover, Elkins and Humason. The attitude of Senator Nesmith was well expressed in what was known in Oregon as the "Milwaukie letter," dated at Milwaukie, Wisconsin, September 2, 1864, and written to Harding, who had returned from Washington to Oregon. Nesmith had just attended the National Democratic Convention at Chicago. His letter is important as showing the position of a certain class of loyal war Democrats who had been faithfully supporting the Lincoln Administration in prosecuting the war. He confessed that he took no particular interest in the canvass, yet, regarding McClellan as an honest man and a patriot, he should prefer to see him elected for the reason that it would remove the obstacles to terms of peace. In case the war continued, he thought

⁴⁵ As an example of his apt, poetic expression—he addressed informally a company of friends who called to congratulate him in the evening of the day of his election. In thanking them for efforts in his behalf, he said: "I will write these obligations upon the tablets of my memory and recite them daily as the rosary of my friendship."

⁴⁶ Deady, correspondence, Oct. 22, to Bulletin.

that McClellan would be surrounded by more competent and honest advisers than those by which Lincoln had been, and that the war would be prosecuted with more ability and vigor. He voiced his objection to the mixing of the slavery question with that which was the prime object of the war—the preservation of the Union. However, as far as the Chicago platform itself was concerned, he said it consisted of vague and glittering generalities, and that he had no unity with the “peace bait” if it meant recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Indeed he pledged his best efforts to Lincoln toward bringing about a successful termination of the war.

On the other hand, Judge Deady, who at the opening of the war was a radical, pro-slavery Democrat of the Breckinridge school, supported Lincoln in 1864. The following keen characterization of the situation is found in a private letter written by him to Nesmith, November 12:

“I took no part in the election of consequence, but voted for Lincoln. This change of Presidents every four years to make a new deal of the offices, is the curse of the country and is as much the cause of our present troubles as all other things combined. Besides I have no very exalted opinion of Mac at best. He is neither one thing or the other. Mr. Lincoln I think a pure man, means well and is gifted with as much good common sense and sagacity as often falls to the lot of men, particularly Presidents. . . . The people are the authors of most of Mr. Lincoln’s mistakes (if they be mistakes) and as usual now seek to hold him alone responsible for them.”

It is evident from the contents of the newspapers prior to the November election that there was felt a vague alarm over the country at large of a Copperhead conspiracy of some nature that might result in revolution in the North in case of Republican success at the polls. That this alarm was strongly felt in Oregon, is clearly shown in the following notice which appeared in the *Daily Statesman*, November 10:

“The Mayor of this city has called a meeting tonight for the purpose of conferring in relation to the apprehension which is generally diffused, of an armed outbreak. It has been thought best by men of all political organizations

that such a meeting should be held and it is hoped that everybody who attends will do so in a fair, candid and calm spirit, so that the uneasiness now prevalent may be effectually removed."

The meeting was held, pacifying speeches were made, and a committee composed of both Copperheads and Union men—J. S. Smith, N. T. Caton, R. P. Boise, C. G. Curl and J. C. Peebles—was appointed to draft pacificatory and reassuring resolutions which were reported to another meeting held on the following evening. "There was a meeting to suppress insurrection at Salem last night," wrote our faithful chronicler Deady to Nesmith. "Don't know how much cause there is for it, but suspect there is some truth in the statement that arms have been shipped here from California and distributed through the interior of the state."

Oregon gave Lincoln a majority over McClellan of 1431 votes.⁴⁷ McClellan carried nine counties—Baker, Benton, Jackson, Josephine, Lane, Linn, Tillamook, Umatilla and Wasco—but with small majorities ranging from 10 in Benton to 119 in Umatilla. Lincoln's majority in November was only about one-half what Henderson's had been in June. The Union vote in the state had not fallen off—it had increased by over 1100 votes; but the Democratic vote had increased by nearly 2500. In the hitherto sparsely settled districts of Northeastern Oregon, the Democrats gained nearly 1000 votes in the five months. The vanguard of "Price's Army" had arrived. The cloud the size of a man's hand could be seen on the political horizon of the Union party.

⁴⁷ Official returns, in *Statesman*, Dec. 5.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL REALIGNMENT

The feeling of political uncertainty which pervaded the Nation after the death of President Lincoln and the inauguration of Andrew Johnson, was strikingly reflected in Oregon. Political chaos reigned for months. The political associations which had resulted from the war were on the verge of dissolution over the issues which the war had raised. Readjustments were being sought, very cautiously and warily. But in all this political shifting, the new President was an important factor. The fact that he was an unknown quantity added to the confusion of the situation which political conditions in Oregon would have rendered sufficiently confusing at best. Every faction and every newspaper was busily trying to find itself politically, in relation to the President. Each faction was accusing all the others of crafty designs and selfish purposes. The unmodified Democrats hated Johnson and hated the Bush-Douglas-McClellan factionists who were evidently preparing to become Johnson Democrats. One wing of the Union party, whose exponent was the Statesman, was loyally supporting Johnson, but looked askance at the Bush faction. The members of the latter were accused of planning a flank movement for the purpose of capturing the Johnson idea for their wing of the Democratic party and thus knocking out the foundations from under the Union party's platform. The other wing of the Union party, led by the Oregonian, was already reflecting the radical Republican movement of the East by covertly attacking Johnson. The Oregonian and the Statesman were again manifesting that cordial hatred toward each other which had characterized the days of the old Democratic Regime, when the columns of each were made lurid by the flaming pens of Dryer and Bush. Each was soon applying the epithet of "Copperhead" to the other.

Harding was now regarded as an apostate by the Unionists. On his return from Washington in March, 1865, the Statesman, in what might be termed a prose version of Whittier's "Ichabod," grieved over him as lost to the Union cause which

had honored and trusted him.⁴⁸ Bush and Harding were looked upon at the close of the war as the leaders of the Douglas-McClellan men in an effort to reorganize the Oregon Democracy on the basis of President Johnson's policy. The Statesman spoke of this as "a flank movement intended to capture our Union platform" and said, "Democrats are welcome to a place under the Union banners, with Andy Johnson as our leader, but we would much rather they would come in open day."⁴⁹ The Statesman labored to show professedly loyal Democrats how impossible and unnatural was a union between them, under the leadership of Bush and Harding, with the secession, unreconstructed Democracy of the state, under the leadership of O'Meara and Malone. The latter was characterized as "the real Democracy of these latter years" which "will hang on to the old resolutions of 1798-1799 and vote with the Southern disorganizers, nullifiers, Mexican and English exiles and the Booths and Surratts generally. They don't like the Government, never did and don't intend to." "What then, is your duty as citizens?" asked the Statesman in an editorial, "A Few Words to Democratic Subscribers."⁵⁰ "Plainly this: cast in your votes and influence with the party that has the ability and strength to conduct the affairs of the Nation successfully."

But if on the one hand the Statesman was desirous of heading off Democratic reorganization along the lines suggested, no less anxious was the Copperhead Democracy itself. It desired Democratic reunion but not reorganization under the auspices of Bush and Harding, whom it characterized as "disorganizing reorganizers." Its attitude was forcefully expressed by Malone in the Oregon Reporter, published at Jacksonville:⁵¹

"Let not the men who stood the brunt of battle for the last four years, allow the Salem nest of Puritan sneaks—who led their followers into the abolition ranks and cannot now get them back—take the lead of them. These infamous

⁴⁸ Statesman, March 20, 1865.

⁴⁹ Ibid., October 2.

⁵⁰ Statesman, July 31.

⁵¹ Quoted in the Statesman, Sept. 25.

renegades have no party—no strength. Having led their followers into the camp of the enemy, Bush and Harding are officers without privates. They have no party, but desire to get back and take the lead of ours. . . . To thwart these men next June, let the legislative tickets be watched in the various counties. These fellows who elected Baker in 1860 must be punished. . . . Until these Judases are dead and buried and their memories made infamous, there can be no clean foundation on which to build a Democratic party in Oregon.”

To add to the complexity of the situation, a controversy was raging in the ranks of the Copperhead Democracy itself, between two of its leading papers, the Albany States Rights Democrat, edited by O'Meara and the Eugene Review, edited by Noltner. O'Meara insisted on “committing the party to an unequivocal endorsement of the most extreme doctrines ever taught by the politicians of the Calhoun school.” He fought Johnson and opposed the idea of the party's adopting a policy of expediency—insisted on remaining unreconstructed, in brief. The Review on the other hand wished to follow the expedient policy adopted by the Northern Democracy. It inclined toward Johnson and wished to profit by the strife between him and the Radicals. Thus, in 1865 we find on one hand, the Union party with its two Statesman-Oregonian, later Johnson-anti-Johnson, wings. On the other, the organized or Copperhead Democracy with its discords. And between the two organized parties fluttered the following of Bush and Harding, who, in the language of the old fable, had hardly determined whether they were to be beasts or birds. The manner in which, within the next three or four years, these various factions were fused and aligned in two political parties and the influences which brought about that result, it will be the purpose of the remaining pages to show.

The Oregonian had spoken on the subject of reconstruction as early as the summer of 1864 and voiced clearly the congressional attitude. It held that before the seceded states should be readmitted to the Union they must first “be divested of all sovereign capacity and pass through a probationary territorial

existence.”⁵² But after Lincoln announced his policy, the Oregonian reversed its attitude and supported it, holding that the states had never been out of the Union and attacking Sumner’s territorial idea both as unhistorical and impolitic.⁵³ The first serious treatment of the subject by the Statesman appeared May 29, 1865, in a leader—“Is It Reconstruction?” It asserted that the very term “reconstruction” implied a previous dissolution. This had not been admitted by Lincoln, was not admitted by Johnson or by any sound, safe leader in the Union party and could not be it asserted, without admitting at once the whole secession theory. It championed Lincoln’s doctrine, that the Government was dealing with individuals, not with states. On one hand it deprecated the attitude of the radicals, like Chandler, Sumner and Wade who looked upon the subjugated states as reduced to Territories, and on the other it objected to the contention of the Democrats in congress that the southern states had not been disorganized and that they were entitled to resume their federal relations with their existing secession organizations and officers. The Statesman used the term “reorganization” in place of “reconstruction” and said in conclusion: “The work of reorganization will probably be brief and will have but one obstacle—the status of the Negro. The work of pacification will require much time and careful management.”

The Oregonian had a few good words for Johnson during the first weeks of his term, but ere long began to oppose him, very mildly at first, in his reconstruction policy. What might be termed mild, question-mark editorials appeared in the Oregonian in the early fall of 1865. November 11, it asserted that, while it would not have been safe to follow the radicals implicitly, it was by no means wise to utterly discard their suggestions. It admitted that as the President had chosen to consider the rebellious states as never having withdrawn from the Union, it became necessary to follow out a line of policy which should be consistent with itself and which should not interfere with the rights of the states as separate political communities. Neverthe-

⁵² Oregonian, July 23, 1864.

⁵³ Ibid., March 4, 1865.

less, the Oregonian declined to acquiesce in such a policy which in general terms it admitted to be logical and necessary. It furthermore opposed Johnson for extreme clemency toward "the rebels" when he had said on his accession that treason was a crime and must be punished with severity.

The Oregon Sentinel, which represented the Union party in the southern part of the state, declared the best test of a man's Unionism to be that he was a firm, consistent supporter of the Johnson Administration, exactly as the support of the Lincoln Administration had been the test during the war.⁵⁴ Even after the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill in February, 1866, which marked the decisive break between Johnson and Congress, the Sentinel was conservative and declared its allegiance to the President. It made the statement that of the eight Union papers in Oregon, six favored the veto, agreeing that it was necessary and that the President had not and would not abandon the Union party and go to the Democracy; that only one paper had abused President Johnson for his veto.⁵⁵

On February 24, the Oregonian frankly admitted the schism between the President and Congress. It accused Johnson of ignoring the latter; of having pursued a plan which was obnoxious to a very large proportion of the loyal people of the country; of recognizing with political power, the rebels. "The Union party does not want to break with President Johnson. It is loth to declare its dissent from his policy. . . . But it will no longer potter with rebels nor will it consent to have the advantages of the great and costly victory it has gained, frittered away. . . . We will not abandon the President; let us wait and see if he will totally abandon us."

In a two column editorial, "A Decisive Hour," the Statesman, February 26, treated, rather dramatically, the opening political feud at Washington. After defending the grounds on which

⁵⁴ Sentinel, Oct. 21, 1865.

⁵⁵ Ibid., March 17, 1866. The opposite view is given by Deady in a letter to Nesmith, March 2: "The Statesman sustains the President, but I know of no other Union paper or leading influence that does in this state. I know nothing about the merits of the Freedmen's Bill, but the reasons he gives for its veto I think radically wrong as is his whole theory about the states of the late Southern Confederacy. I suppose you agree with the President and I fancy are a candidate for the Senate."

the veto was based as being in harmony with all the precedents, teaching and policy of Lincoln's Administration and avowing that it would therefore sustain him to the utmost, the Statesman made the following somewhat fervid utterance:

"The radicals in Congress have abandoned both the Union party and the President. . . . The Copperheads are ready to catch at anything to divide us. They are now hurrahing for Johnson but cannot tell why. . . . We will be fools and recreant traitors if we permit the Copperheads to champion the President. We are his proper and rightful defenders. . . . As a Union party we must endorse Johnson unanimously. We must do it now. . . . Your President has not deserted you. He has not gone to the Copperheads. . . . Never fear. Seward stands by Johnson; the people stand by Johnson," etc.

The Oregonian replied in like vein in a long editorial in which it practically read the Statesman out of the Union party:⁵⁶

"The President seems disposed to sever his connection with the great Union party, and the Oregon Statesman goes with him. So do the Review and the States Rights Democrat. . . .⁵⁷ The Statesman has found its long sought opportunity. . . . The combination against the Union party which it foreshadowed, has been effected. . . . The 'Johnson party' is born! . . . The Statesman is 'for Andrew Johnson against all his enemies.' We are for the whole loyal party and will not sever our connection with it to go with a single person, even though that person be the one who has all the federal offices at his disposal. The Democratic party in the coming canvass will go for Pres. Johnson. He will be their champion. And as the Statesman sustains him against the Union party, it may find its proper associations with the Review and the Democrat. But there will be no division in the Union party. The little circle of 'mutual admiration' men who make the Statesman their organ may slough off if they will. The party will be far better off without them."

These two quotations, the one from the Statesman and the other from the Oregonian, show clearly the opposite positions which the two leading Union papers of Oregon held and the resulting attitude which they manifested toward each other.

⁵⁶ Oregonian, March 3, 1866.

⁵⁷ Statesman, April 17, 1865.

From this time on, the Oregonian attacked Johnson as unreservedly as any well recognized political opponent, and as viciously.

The views of the two journals as to the proper status of the Negroes, freed by the war, were almost as antithetical as on the general question of reconstruction. Governor Gibbs called a special session of the legislature to meet December 5, 1865, to consider the Thirteenth Amendment which had been presented by Congress to the various states. The Amendment passed the senate by a vote of 13 to 3 and the house by a vote of 30 to 4. The seven Democrats of the assembly vigorously opposed it. The Statesman was almost alone in opposing the call of the special session, arguing that the settling of the question at that time would rob the Union party of a good issue in the approaching campaign, and that it would entail useless expense. Emancipation suggested, almost immediately, other vital issues anent the future of the Negro, which began at once to receive attention. The chief of these issues was naturally that of negro suffrage.

The first explicit statement on the question made by the Statesman appeared October 2, 1865. It came out squarely against the issue and was inclined to ridicule those Union men, and especially the office-seekers for their delicacy in discussing the subject or avoidance of it altogether. In a sentence, its objection to the enfranchisement of the Negro was this: "We do not believe that any democratic or republican form of government can successfully govern two separate and distinct races of people in large numbers with equal political rights to both races." The Oregonian did not yet give an explicit expression on the issue, satisfying itself with giving space to a few innuendoes at the position of the Statesman, which called forth the rejoinder—"The Statesman has expressed its opinion plainly upon this, the most important question of the day, while the Oregonian, with its usual want of manly frankness, is waiting to see which way it will be prudent to jump."⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Statesman, Oct. 30, 1865.

At the special session of the legislature above referred to three resolutions upon the subject were passed. The first announced agreement with Pres. Johnson in his position that suffrage is a question that constitutionally belongs to the states, and not to Congress and that suffrage is a political and not a natural right. The second applauded the Negroes for loyal support of the Union and declared it the duty of Congress to guide and assist them in attaining to the highest standard of which they were capable. The third declared that if the Negroes did not fare well in the South under the new conditions, Congress should take steps toward colonizing them in a new state of their own. The Oregonian, November 18, deprecated "setting the whole state in an uproar by discussing with vehement warmth" a question that "is not now and probably never can become a matter of paramount importance here." It asserted it to be a matter for each state to settle for itself and still did not commit itself on the general issue.

Beginning in the year 1866, the Democratic papers of the state pushed the subject to the front in the effort to force a political issue in the approaching campaign on the subject of negro suffrage or as they presented it, negro equality. The Oregonian, whose great anxiety was to avoid such an issue, was finally, May 5, goaded into the expressive, effective retort:

"One cannot pick up any Democratic newspaper without finding these terrible words (Negro equality) staring at him from all parts of the page. . . . The world has furnished many remarkable instances of 'the ruling passion strong in death,' but the Democratic party has been permitted to become about the most remarkable example on record. Born of the slavery interest, nurtured by the profits of human bondage, hoisted to and kept in power by the slave trade and propagandist and now dying of an overdose of 'nigger' and self-administered treason, the Democratic party will have no consolation not derived from recollections of the 'nigger' and strongly objects to being buried in anything but a 'nigger' shroud, a 'nigger' coffin and a 'nigger' grave. It will expire with 'negro equality' last on its mortal tongue."

Interest in and preparations for the election of 1866 began to

be manifested very early. In November of the preceding year, in an editorial, "The Slate Made Up," the Oregonian made a bitter attack on the Statesman and "the little knot of chronic office-seekers who hover about the state capital," for trying to dictate the ticket to be nominated by the Union party. It accused the Statesman, Nesmith, Harding and a few others, of making it up from among their own ilk, asserting that there was but one of the old Republican party among the "Clique's elect." In another attack, December 2, under the caption, "The Salem Program," the Oregonian charged the Statesman and its following with arranging to organize a third party—a conservative Union party, shutting out the radical Copperhead Democrats on one side and the radical Republicans on the other. From this time each paper labored to show that it represented the real Union party in Oregon.

In 1865 the Democrats began to claim the next election on the strength of the emigrant vote, a good indication of the extent and political nature of which had been given in the presidential election of the preceding year. Immediately at the close of the war it seemed to be generally understood that there would be a general emigration of Southern refugees to the Northwest, and the papers took up the discussion as to the legal and political status of such as voters. The legislature of 1864 passed an act prohibiting any one voting in Oregon who had been directly engaged in the rebellion, saving his rights under Lincoln's amnesty proclamation. This law was modified at the special session of 1865 in a way which the Statesman declared made it "just such a harmless affair as any guerilla from Price's army would desire."⁵⁹ It asserted that there were five or six hundred rebels in Oregon who had never taken either the amnesty oath of Pres. Lincoln or Pres. Johnson and objected strongly to allowing such a vote. It demanded that the Confederate rebellion be treated as something more odious than a Democratic holiday. In the language of Andrew Johnson—"treason should be made odious."

⁵⁹ Statesman, Jan. 1, 1866.

The Union State Convention of 1866 met at Corvallis, March 29. A young man from Multnomah County served as secretary of this convention. Since May of the preceding year he had been editor of the *Oregonian* and had already given evidence of that ability which was to give that journal the political prestige in Oregon which had been held by *Bush* and the *Statesman* and which has later given the editorial page of the *Oregonian* a national reputation. The young man was Harvey W. Scott.

The platform adopted was a clever piece of political strategy, in which its framers succeeded admirably in their evident determination to be as vague as possible on the struggle between Congress and the President and on the issues confronting the country.⁶⁰ It declared that as to the best plan of restoring the late revolted states to the exercise of all their functions in the Union and as to the legislation necessary to freedmen, loyal men "may honestly differ." A remarkable echo, this, suggestive of the days of the old Democratic regime when good Democrats were accorded the privilege of honestly differing on the slavery question. That "obstinacy and pride of opinion" was rebuked, where or by whom displayed, that would give strength to the enemies of the Union through discord and division among the friends. The third resolution expressed a desire for a full recognition of all civil and political privileges to the people of the revolted states, as soon as compatible with national safety and the protection of the loyal people in those states.⁶¹ Imprecations were heaped on the men or party who would countenance repudiating the national debt. A further evidence of the attempt to suit both the strict and loose constructionists in the Union party was found in the declaration—"We will as we ever have, support the State Governments in

⁶⁰ Proceedings, in *Statesman*, April 2.

⁶¹ Deady, April 6, to Bulletin: "This is evidently the work of those who sympathize with Congress and at the same time are not disposed to dogmatize, so as to leave no room for those who lean toward the President to act and vote with the party. It assumes rather than asserts that the relation of the 'late revolted states' with the Union is a matter within the authority and power of Congress. In the end, much depends upon the instincts and personal proclivities of the candidate who stands upon it."

all their rights, as the most competent administrators of their domestic concerns and the surest breastwork against anti-republican tendencies; and preserve the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor." Another vivid reminder here of Democratic platform building in ante-bellum days. The Statesman manifested ill-concealed signs of disgust over the platform while the Democratic view was pungently expressed by the Oregon Daily Herald, April 5, which caustically arraigned the resolutions for their glittering generalities, double-dealing, misrepresentation and evasion. At the end of a long string of questions which it claimed had been totally ignored by "the Corvallis wire-pullers," the Herald asked—"Shall President Johnson be supported in his praiseworthy attempts to restore the Constitution to its pristine vigor? Or shall the Radicals—the Jacobins of America—assume power and override the Constitution?"

In selecting the ticket, the policy which Oregon had adopted of electing a new man for Congressman for each succeeding term was followed and Rufus Mallory of Marion was named to succeed Henderson. He had been a Douglas Democrat and was one of the directors of the Oregon Printing and Publishing Company, which published the Statesman. He was characterized by Judge Deady⁶² as a man of very fair natural abilities—a practical politician with his ear to the ground to catch the drift. Eastern Oregon was recognized in the nomination of Geo. L. Woods, of The Dalles, for governor, a man of eloquence and prepossessing appearance. S. E. May and E. N. Cooke were renominated for state secretary and treasurer, respectively, and W. A. McPherson of the Albany Journal was named for printer.

The platform adopted by the Democrats in state convention at Portland, April 5, was a lengthy one, treating the various issues in some detail.⁶³ However, it was by no means free from those "glittering generalities" with which the Herald had charged the Union resolutions—such as an expression for

⁶² Deady, April 6, to Bulletin.

⁶³ Statesman, April 23.

the support of the state governments in all their rights and the Federal Government in all its vigor. The congressional policy relative to the South was heartily condemned and President Johnson was as heartily and unequivocally endorsed. The shade of Senator Douglas was again tacitly invoked for aid in leading Douglas Democrats back into the fold, in a resolution endorsing his expression that this Government was made on a white basis for white men, hence "we are opposed to extending the right of suffrage to any other." The platform denounced as a base insult to the gallant living and heroic dead, the efforts of the Radicals to convert the Nation's victory into a partisan triumph, seeking to make the late war one of conquest, instead of suppression of the rebellion—for subjugation instead of restoring the Union, for the Negro instead of the white man. Centralization of power, the protective tariff and the system of national banks were opposed and the taxation of United States bonds demanded.

James D. Fay⁶⁴ of Jackson was nominated for Congress; Jas. K. Kelly of Wasco for governor; L. F. Lane of Multnomah, for secretary; John C. Bell of Marion for treasurer; James O'Meara, of the States Rights Democrat, Linn, for printer. Editor O'Meara now found himself running for a lucrative office on a platform which strongly endorsed President Johnson whom he strongly opposed.⁶⁵ He accordingly came forth cheerfully with the manifesto—"We shall stand by the President. To be with the President is to beat back fanaticism."⁶⁶

An interesting and significant characterization of the personnel in general of the two state tickets is found in a private letter from Senator Nesmith, dated at Washington, May 20, 1866, to Judge Deady. "It seems to me," he writes, "that the Democratic ticket—with the exception of Kelly—is such a one as Jeff Davis himself would select, while the other is such as no one ought to select. The first is controlled by men who de-

⁶⁴ "Of Irish descent, a little fellow with a gamey manner—florid, fluent, ready and impudent. A thorough going anti-coercion Democrat."—Deady, April 6, to Bulletin.

⁶⁵ *Supra*, p. 40.

⁶⁶ Quoted in *Oregonian*, April 28.

sired to see the Government disrupted and the latter is controlled by those who desire to keep it so. I sympathize with neither. I was in hopes that the conservative men of the state would combine upon the President's policy and give some practical aid in restoring the country to its former prosperous condition—barring however the institution of slavery to which you were once so devoted. I perhaps expected too much of trading politicians who have more regard for party than for country."

The bitterness and desperate nature of the campaign which followed is better reflected in the *Oregonian* than in the *Statesman*, the former throwing its whole strength into the fight. It made a specialty of showing up the records of all the Democrats connected with the campaign and quoting past treasonable utterances by them, thus rendering the campaign bitterly personal. As a last appeal to voters it begged them to "give the old traitor, Jo Lane, another kick," asserting that if the Democrats gained the legislature, Lane was to be sent back to the Senate. The Democrats laid stress upon what they termed the fanatical and disruptive measures of the Radicals in Congress, charging that the Union party was composed of disunionists. They were insistent in their demand for the taxation of United States bonds, were strong against the tariff, and were hysterical over threatened "Negro equality."⁶⁷ On the whole, the Union party nominees and campaigners took the side of Congress as against Johnson. The *Statesman*, now the only Johnson paper in the Union party, became very much subdued in its attitude—even to the extent of endorsing the reconstruction report of the Congressional committee.⁶⁸ The Unionists denied the imputations of the Democrats on the subject of negro suffrage, some maintaining that this was not an issue in the canvass, others expressing their opposition to the principle.

The result of the election was very close, especially as compared with the results of elections since the forming of the Union organization. The whole Union ticket was elected, the

⁶⁷ "Shall U. S. bonds be taxed? Shall the toiling millions of this land pay the taxes of the rich? Shall negroes be placed upon the same social and political footing with white men," etc.—*Oregon Daily Herald*, April 5.

⁶⁸ Deady to Nesmith, June 11.

majorities ranging from 277⁶⁹, given to Woods for governor, to 600 for May. The majority given to Mallory for Congressman was 553. The composition of the new legislature was: senate—Union 15, Democratic 7; house—Union 26, Democratic 21.⁷⁰ Here was plainly demonstrated the returning Democratic strength—the drift toward political realignment. The legislature of 1862 had contained three Democrats; that of 1864, seven; that of 1866, twenty-eight. The Union party had gained nearly 500 votes since the presidential election of 1864, but the Democrats had gained over 1300.

The Statesman said the result was quite as good as it had reason to expect; that the immigrant vote was much larger than any one expected, but that the Union ticket had either divided that vote or largely recruited from the McClellan vote of the last election, else it had been defeated.⁷¹ The Oregonian asserted bluntly that much of the increased vote was due to the immigrations from Price's disbanded forces, "all of whom gave aid and comfort to the Democratic ticket in Oregon as they did to the rebellion in Missouri."⁷² In noting that some of its exchanges viewed the election as a Radical triumph while others claimed that it was an endorsement of Pres. Johnson's course, the Oregonian asserted that men of candor would not claim that a victory, achieved by a party which sustained the congressional policy throughout in direct opposition to that of Johnson, was a very brilliant victory for the President. "The victory was fairly gained," it declared, after the severest contest ever known in the state."⁷³

The Union party was turning strongly toward the Congressional side of the great political controversy in the early months of 1866. The temporary espousal of Johnson by the Democrats of the state greatly accelerated this tendency and practically forced the wavering ones in the Union ranks to associate

⁶⁹ This was the majority as found by the Legislature which canvassed the returns. See Oregonian, Sept. 15.

⁷⁰ Statesman, July 30.

⁷¹ Ibid., June 18.

⁷² Oregonian, June 9.

⁷³ Oregonian, June 30.

themselves with the Radical element of the party. A Conservative Union party in Oregon, under the leadership of the President, as desired by Senator Nesmith, was made impossible. Whatever danger there was of a division of the Unionists was averted, and the way was paved for the future rehabilitation of the Republican party. The situation was forcefully expressed in a private letter from Judge Deady to Senator Nesmith, dated August 9, 1866: "You ask me to recommend a man for the place (U. S. Marshal) who is a Johnson man—who is neither a Radical nor an opposer of the war. This is a narrow field in this state. Most decent people here are either with Congress or opposed to it. The latter class are generally Democrats and were opposed to the prosecution of the war."

As early as March 6, 1866, a club had been formed at Washington, D. C., by leading senators and others who supported Johnson.⁷⁴ In June the executive committee of the club called a "National Union Convention" to meet at Philadelphia, August 14, for the purpose of effecting a national organization of the conservative Union forces. Senator Nesmith was prominently connected with the movement, and was a member of the executive committee. Other Oregon representatives at Philadelphia as given by the *Oregonian*, September 22, were: W. H. Farrar, or "Slippery Bill Farrar," McClellan Democrat, a member of the committee on organization; Ex-Governor Geo. L. Curry, Copperhead editor of *Portland Advertiser*, which had been suppressed, vice-president for Oregon; E. M. Barnum, secession Democrat, member of committee on resolutions. Senator Nesmith was the only man representing Oregon at this National Union Convention, who was a consistent Union man, and the Oregon representation was probably fairly suggestive of the political complexion of the convention at large.

The calling of the Philadelphia convention and the enthusiastic notice given it by the Democrats all over the country was an added and decisive influence in uniting the Union elements in Oregon on the side of the Radicals. The *Oregon Sentinel*,

⁷⁴ W. A. Dunning, "Reconstruction, Political and Economic," p. 73.

which only six months before was championing Johnson, now denounced the Philadelphia Convention and those connected with it. "We will yield Mr. Johnson to the Democracy cheerfully and feel satisfied that he rightfully belongs there. . . . Johnson & Co. were forced to ally themselves to the Democracy in order to gratify their egotistical ambition and we have the mortification of seeing those whom we chose as leaders, made the silly or perhaps willing tools of men who can outwit them in political chicancery." The *Statesman*, which had so zealously espoused Johnson, likewise began to weaken as the strife between the President and Congress developed, and after the call had been issued for the meeting of the National Union Convention. D. W. Craig, formerly of the *Argus*, had secured the controlling interest of the *Statesman*⁷⁵ and in August, 1866, sold the paper to Benjamin Simpson, a Union Democrat, who had been one of the directors of the Oregon Printing and Publishing Company. Craig's editor, J. Gaston, said in his parting salutation—"Let us stand, not for men, but for principles. If we divide into 'Johnson men' or 'Radicals,' into 'Douglas Democrats' or 'Republicans,' we but abandon the field of politics to the control of unmitigated Copperheads."⁷⁶ This was a decidedly different tone from that which had characterized the *Statesman* heretofore.

But the accession of the new management marked another change in the checkered career of the paper. "A change has come over the spirit of the *Statesman*," announced the new editors, the sons of the new proprietor, Sylvester C. and Samuel L. Simpson, in their salutatory. "Already you have heard the farewell shot of the retiring editor and now, ere its echoes have died away, we come to renew the battle. . . . Opposed to the Utopian ideas of fanatical reformers, yet having no sympathy with treason, we shall calmly yet earnestly discuss every measure for the restoration of the states and the general weal of our common country." The *Statesman* accordingly renewed

⁷⁵ Geo. H. Himes, "History of the Press of Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for December, 1902, p. 360.

⁷⁶ *Statesman*, Aug. 13.

its allegiance to Johnson, espousing the Philadelphia Convention. It declared for the re-election of Nesmith as senator against the attacks directed against him by the Oregonian and savagely attacked negro suffrage. The "middle of the road" position, which the Statesman now assumed was a difficult and untenable one. As Deady had keenly observed, this was a narrow field in Oregon, or better, it was a wide field but very thinly populated. The political exigencies were sharply dividing the people into the Radical Unionists on the one hand and the Democrats on the other. Few indeed were they who maintained a middle position, and the Statesman was thus now the spokesman of a very small constituency. As the weeks passed, it seemed to realize the hopelessness of its position. On November 5, 1866, in answer to critics, who prophesied for it a speedy dissolution, the Statesman gave expression to a despairing protest which is here quoted in part as portraying very accurately the feelings of those who struggled against the political currents which would take them to one extreme or the other:

"There *must* be a golden mean somewhere between sympathy with rebellion and the worship of thick-lipped deities. . . . Surely there is a love of country which shall not combine with too great a veneration of the Negro. . . . With Stephen A. Douglas we entertain a few somewhat heretical notions about this being a white man's government and do not propose to yield them. . . . But there is one platform that is wide enough for us all—support of the Union, and for the flag, love and loyalty. The Statesman was with the Government in the 'valley of the Shadow' and shall not wander from its faith when the night is scattering and brighter fields are opening beyond. . . . A liberal policy toward the conquered states was the one, in our judgment, most worthy of the Nation and best calculated to harmonize the clashing antagonisms of a broken Union and soothe the virulence of a discomfited people; and for that, no excess of radical majorities shall drive us to the confessional."

By this time, after the fall campaigns in the East in which the President had demonstrated his personal foibles, the Statesman felt compelled to abandon him. But yet while "blushing

for his imprudence in trailing the robes of office in the filth of brutal crowds," it declared itself to despise above all things "that party whose bosom is a shield to such infamous outlawry and whose banner is the protection of swaggering vagabondism." Thus did the Statesman hurl final defiance at the Republican element which now wholly dominated the Union party. In the following month, December, 1866, the paper was sold to the owners of the Unionist with which it was merged, the name of the Statesman being dropped. The Oregonian, in announcing the demise of its old rival, granted that it had one time absolutely controlled the politics of the state but observed that its final plunge into the depths of Johnson "conservatism" had been too much for it.⁷⁷ Within a few years the old name was re-adopted but the days of the Statesman as an important factor in the political history of Oregon, were over.

The Oregonian was the true exponent of the Union party as now constituted. The spirit of the party is exemplified in an editorial, December 15, 1866, on "Radical Reconstruction," which hailed with satisfaction the fact that Congress "is pushing forward fearlessly." "The work of reconstruction is now to begin from the foundation and will go back to where it stood on the surrender of the rebel armies. . . . The action of the South has made it necessary. Traitors will take back seats. Loyal men will govern. Reconstruction, radical, thorough and complete, is to begin."

Democratic support of President Johnson in Oregon was brief and fleeting. For the expediency of the hour, the Democrats championed him in the spring campaign of 1866 as a flank movement against the Unionists. But their support was never hearty and sincere and the June election was hardly over before this became evident. On July 18, Deady wrote to Nesmith, "The Democratic papers here are beginning to show their teeth at Johnson and Seward and I am quite sure that they will do the same towards you when it comes to the pinch." The Oregon Herald, now edited by Beriah Brown, formerly editor of the San Francisco Democratic Press,^{77a} was

⁷⁷ Oregonian, Jan. 5, 1867.

^{77-a} In which Brown had unsparingly criticised President Lincoln, which act led to the gutting of the establishment on April 15, 1865.

made the official organ of the Johnson Administration in the State and thus remained a staunch Johnson advocate. The other Democratic papers refused to follow its lead and made the Herald a target for their splenetic shafts. The Oregonian, in commenting upon the efforts of the Herald to commit Oregon Democrats to Johnson, thus aptly characterized the Oregon Democracy: "This Johnsonized organ has made a grand mistake. Oregon Democracy is not the sort of material the official appointee supposed. It is radical. It is earnest. Its ideas are precisely those which animated the late Confederacy. It will adopt no half way measures. It cannot be warped from this policy to that, as in other states. It never had any sympathy with the Philadelphia Convention or regard for Johnson. It will not tolerate anything but the most extreme doctrine. In supposing the party might be made somewhat more conservative, Johnson's organ has made a grievous mistake."⁷⁸

The term of Senator Nesmith was about to expire and it was for the legislature of 1866 to choose his successor. Serving in such a momentous period, embracing the whole of the Civil War, he had rendered conspicuous service to the Union.^{78a} As Congressman McBride had written home,⁷⁹ Nesmith, deserting his Democratic confreres, had supported nearly every Administration measure for the prosecution of the war. He exercised a large influence in the framing of some very important measures and some of them passed through the aid of the one Democratic vote. During his six years in the Senate no Oregonian had gone to Washington without feeling a sort of proud consciousness that his senator was a man among men and that it was something worth while to be known as one of "Old Nes' constituents,"⁸⁰ Under these circumstances he might apparently, have expected re-election at the hands of a legislature which was safely Union. But there was hardly even a possibility of such. On the issues which had arisen out of the war, he had disagreed with the Republican element of the

⁷⁸ Oregonian, Jan. 12.

^{78-a} Nesmith was a member of the Committee on Military Affairs.

⁷⁹ Argus, March 13, 1863.

⁸⁰ Deady, Oct. 27, 1866, to Bulletin.

Union party. In the policy of reconstruction he was now valiantly holding to a conservative or middle position. This did not suit Oregon politicians who "would that he were either hot or cold." He was in the position of the Statesman—leading a cause which had few followers. Individuals might dream of third parties, founded upon the policy of the President, the utterances of the Philadelphia Convention or "any other narrow isthmus between these two great oceans of popular sentiment and passion."⁸¹ But it was all a dream—and especially in Oregon. Differing with him as to the policy to be pursued toward the South,⁸² Judge Deady, quondam pro-slavery Democrat, had in July written his friend Nesmith frankly of the situation: "I believe that you have more friends in the Union party than the other, but the Union party of this state, particularly the brains and conscience of it, is thoroughly on the side of Congress and against Andy. And I do not think any personal considerations (and all these are in your favor) will induce them to support anyone for the Senate that does not agree with them on this issue and all questions included in it."

In a word, Nesmith was crushed between the upper and nether millstone. The Republicans considered him a Democrat, which was not unnatural, considering that he had been elected as such, had supported McClellan and was now the supporter of Johnson, and opposed the Republican policy anent the freedmen. On the other hand, the rock-bound, unreconstructed Democrats hated him with a cordial hatred. They disliked him politically for the support of the war and they cherished against him a personal grudge for his alliance with the Republicans in 1860, which sent him to the Senate and resulted largely in the overthrow of the Oregon Democracy. The situation in which Nesmith found himself was more than suggestive of the general situation in Oregon. Political differentiation had been effected

81 Ibid.

82 "Although I think you are altogether estray in your present political predilections, yet you are as likely to come around right as others who might start in so."—Deady to Nesmith, Aug. 14, 1866.

along new lines—political realignment was rapidly being affected.⁸³

The senatorial election of 1866 was the first of a long series of political intrigues and imbroglios which have been associated with the history of the Republican party in Oregon and which have made the state noted for its senatorial vendettas and deadlocks. And it is at least significant that in this first factional fight, appeared the man round whom the fierce political warfare of the state was long to rage—John H. Mitchell. Governor Gibbs was the Union caucus nominee for senator, with 21 votes, Mitchell following with 15. Had all who entered the caucus abided by its decision, Gibbs would have been elected with one vote to spare. But three members bolted the caucus nominee, and the highest vote which Gibbs received during the contest was 33.⁸⁵ The first ballot stood: Gibbs, 33; J. S. Smith, Democrat, 21; Nesmith, 9; scattering, 6. The votes given Nesmith were from Democratic members. From the first to the eighth ballot there was little change, except that Nesmith's support went to Smith. H. W. Corbett received one vote on every ballot until the eighth, when he received 5. The ninth ballot: Gibbs 20, Smith 30, Corbett 9, Jesse Applegate 4, W. C. Johnson 5. From then on to the fourteenth ballot Corbett increased slowly, Gibbs again attaining his maximum strength on that ballot. The Democrats changed from Smith to J. K. Kelly and on the fifteenth ballot transferred their support to Ex-Governor Whiteaker. W. C. Johnson then withdrew the name of Gibbs in the interest of party harmony and nominated Corbett. The sixteenth and final ballot read: Corbett 38, Smith 14, Prim 7, Kelly 5, Nesmith 4, Whiteaker 1. Some of the Union members, in switching from Gibbs to Corbett, took occasion to

⁸³ Deady, Oct. 27, to Bulletin.

Nesmith, Washington, D. C., Nov. 13, to Deady: "I knew from the first that I had no party in the state and that there was no show. Some Republicans commended my course in support of the war. . . but denounced me freely because I was not in favor of its prosecution after the rebels had ceased to resist. Besides, I was not up to their standard with respect to the superiority of the negro over the white man. On the other hand a portion of the Democracy could not forgive me for having supported the war and because I did not support the rebellion."

⁸⁵ Oregonian, Sept. 29 and Oct. 6.

denounce bitterly the bolters who had thwarted the expressed will of the party organization. They asserted that they had been assured that if Corbett were not elected, Nesmith would be, which fear they declared made it easy for them to support Corbett. Antagonism was evident between the Union members and Nesmith.

In commenting on the result, the *Oregonian*, October 6, said: "The second great triumph of the present session of the legislature has been achieved by the Union party. The ratification of the Constitutional amendment was the first victory;⁸⁶ and this is now fitly followed by the election of a United States senator who is in the strictest sense identified with the Union party of Oregon and of the Nation." Deady characterized Corbett as "a Radical in thought and a Conservative in action, a man of strong convictions, but temperate and moderate in speech and conduct."⁸⁷ From the permanent organization of the Oregon Republican party in 1859 until 1862, the new senator had been chairman of the state central committee. Though the old Republican leaders were generally averse to giving up their own party organization for an alliance with the Union Democrats in 1862, the determination of the question devolving largely upon Corbett, he yielded to the entreaties of the Douglas leaders and signed the joint call for the Eugene convention which led to the formation of the Union party.

While the break between Johnson and Congress drew the political lines in such a way as practically to separate Republicans and conservative Democrats, both clung to the name "Union," each denying to the other the right to use it. Not until the spring of 1867 did the *Oregonian* use the name "Republican" in designating its political party. May 25, it declared it to be the imperative duty of the "Union-Republican" party to keep its organization compact and perfect, in preparation for the great campaign a year hence. June 22, in an editorial "The Republican Party," it explained and de-

⁸⁶ The Fourteenth Amendment passed the Legislature by the following vote: Senate, 13 to 9; House, 25 to 22. See *Statesman*, Sept. 24.

⁸⁷ Deady, Oct. 3, to *Bulletin*.

fended the use of the new name or rather, the resumption of the old one.

The trend of political affairs at Washington during 1867, naturally tended still further to make for political solidarity in Oregon. Feeling became more intense as the political warfare at Washington became more and more pronounced. It bespoke a heated campaign in the state in the approaching election of 1868. The real sentiment and animus of the people are often more truly portrayed in resolutions adopted in county conventions than in state, where the platform makers proceed with more conservatism and caution. For example, the Polk County Democrats declared in March, 1868, that they would oppose with force if necessary, "any attempt of the abolitionists to impose a President upon the people of the United States, elected by the negro vote of the ten states now under military despotism." The reconstruction act was denounced as revolutionary and treasonable and its immediate repeal demanded.⁸⁸ On the other side some of the Republican county conventions spoke aggressively against Johnson, "the treacherous apostate,"⁸⁹ and endorsed the impeachment proceedings. The Clatsop Republicans declared that the abominable secession heresy of states rights, as expounded by the leaders in the secession Democratic party, was too absurd to be entertained by any unprejudiced man of sense or patriotism.⁹⁰

The Democratic State Convention met March 19 at Portland. The committee on resolutions—Col. J. E. Ross, R. B. Cochran, Benj. Hayden, Beriah Brown and J. H. Slater, appointed in the morning, were to report at the afternoon session.⁹¹ The convention re-assembled at 3 o'clock but the committee was not ready to report. Brown, editor of the Herald, "Johnson's organ," said there seemed to be an irreconcilable difference in the committee and suggested that it be instructed to bring in two reports. At 7 in the evening, Hayden presented a majority

⁸⁸ Daily Herald, March 21, 1868.

⁸⁹ Wapato Union Club resolution March 18.

⁹⁰ Daily Oregonian, March 20.

⁹¹ Proceedings, Daily Oregonian, March 20, 21.

and Brown a minority report. O. Humason of Wasco moved that both reports be referred to a new committee, without reading. The motion carried by the close vote of 71 to 68, the new committee comprising Humason, J. C. Hawthorne, J. F. Miller, John Whiteaker, Chas. Hughes. Their report, presented the next day, was accepted. The struggle in the first committee suggests the expiring efforts of Johnson's friends in Oregon for Democratic vindication of the President.

The platform was even longer than that of 1866, covering a range from a declaration in favor of liberal Congressional aid for a judicious system of railroad improvement in Oregon to a resolution of sympathy for the Irish in their struggle for civil liberty. It opposed the "sharing with servile races the priceless political heritage achieved alone by white men." The reconstruction acts and the usurpation by Congress of judicial and executive functions were denounced with a gusto which left nothing to be desired. There were the usual resolutions declaring for the sacredness of the Constitution, limited powers of the federal government and the sovereignty of the states over their internal affairs. The platform called for the equalization of the burdens of taxation, the payment of the public debt in like currency as contracted and the taxation of United States securities.

S. F. Chadwick, John Burnett and J. H. Slater were nominated as Presidential electors. As delegates to the National Democratic Convention, N. M. Bell, W. W. Page, O. Joynt, Beriah Brown and P. P. Prim, were chosen. Hayden presented a resolution instructing them to vote for G. H. Pendleton as the Democratic candidate for President. Brown opposed it vigorously, asserting that he never had and never would serve under instructions. This was but an echo of the struggle in the committee on resolutions. Hayden suggested to Brown that he could easily resign, which the latter promptly did. J. C. Avery was elected delegate in his place and the Pendleton resolution was adopted. The apparent inconsistency between the Pendleton instructions and that plank of their platform

declaring that good faith and justice demanded that the public debt be paid in like currency as contracted, did not seem to disturb the equanimity of the assembled Democrats. J. S. Smith was unanimously nominated for Congressman.

The Republican view of the convention was expressed in the following declaration made by the Marion County Union-Republicans: "We recognize in the names presented by the Copperhead Convention at Portland a very decided predominance of the rebel element and the exclusion of every so-called 'War Democrat' from a place on their ticket, which reminds us forcibly of the fact that we are again fighting the same old adversary in another campaign and demonstrates the political axiom that a Democrat can no more change his politics than the Ethiopian can his skin or the leopard his spots."⁹²

The Union-Republican platform, adopted at Salem, March 24, endorsed the work of Congress as unreservedly as the Democrats had condemned it;⁹³ spoke for the preservation, at the ballot box, of the fruits of the war; favored the admission of the representatives of Southern states in Congress "at the earliest practicable moment when the public safety will permit;" condemned every scheme for the repudiation of the whole or any part of the national debt and denounced the proposition to pay in legal tender notes those debts contracted to be paid in specie, as only a milder term of repudiation; encouraged foreign immigration and met the Democratic "Irish" plank by expressing sympathy for all people struggling for civil and religious liberty; acknowledged debt of permanent recognition to American sailors and soldiers for saving the country; bespoke liberal federal appropriations to aid in the construction of railroads.

David Logan was nominated for Congressman, receiving 56 votes as against 51 for P. E. Sullivan of Polk County. Orange Jacobs, A. B. Meacham and Dr. Wilson Bowlby were named for Presidential electors and Josiah Failing, J. L. Parrish, Maxwell Ramsby, M. Baker, C. C. Beekman and H. R. Kincaid, as

⁹² Daily Oregonian, March 24.

⁹³ Proceedings, Daily Oregonian, March 27.

delegates to the National Convention. The convention was unfortunate in the selection of its congressional nominee. While a man of marked ability, Logan's habits made him a vulnerable candidate. There was great dissatisfaction over his nomination and his defeat was freely predicted at once by members of his own party.⁹⁴ The temperance and church people deserted him, especially the Methodist Republicans, Smith, the Democratic nominee, being a Methodist.

The campaign of 1868 was marked by that vehemence of party feeling which had always rendered Oregon politics intense and strenuous. The Oregonian made a target of the first plank of the Democratic platform, which expressed renewed allegiance to the time-honored principles of the Democratic party. It insisted that these principles were embodied in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, with their offspring of nullification, secession and rebellion. On the subject of reconstruction, the Democrats demanded the admission of the Southern representatives in Congress at once and now maintained Lincoln's position that the seceding states had never been out of the Union. The question of repudiation, or the payment of United States bonds in gold or paper figured prominently. But more noisily discussed than all was the question of negro suffrage and equality. The Democrats accused the Republicans of standing for universal negro suffrage. This the latter denied, maintaining that the colored men had been enfranchised in the Southern states as a measure of necessity in reconstruction, but that those states, when again in the Union, would each have power to regulate the suffrage for itself. But the Democrats returned continually to the attack with such convincing arguments as, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" "Would you allow a nigger to force himself into a seat at church between you and your

⁹⁴ In a letter to Nesmith, March 27, Deady said Jesse Applegate was instrumental in securing the nomination of Logan, controlling nearly all the southern county votes and capturing J. G. Wilson by making him chairman of the convention. "Billy Adams, Medorem Crawford and Huntington are furious and all swear they will not support Dave. Billy says openly that he will vote for Smith. I think that all the federal officers are opposed to Dave, while he is defiant and swears that if he is elected their heads shall tumble."

wife?" and "D——n a nigger!" On two points they kept up an incessant clamor—they lost no opportunity to denounce "niggers" and "taxes."⁹⁵

The June election resulted in a decisive victory for the Democratic ticket and the first defeat which the Union party had suffered since its organization. Smith was elected congressman over Logan by a majority of 1209 and the Democrats secured 43 of the 69 seats in the legislature, each house of which had a Democratic majority. The Oregonian took the defeat philosophically⁹⁶ and after the first shock sought to explain how it happened. It stated that ever since the California election of the preceding fall when an 18,000 Union majority in that state had been turned in to a 9,000 Democratic one, it had been very difficult for the Union party to maintain its ground in Oregon. The Dalles Mountaineer, Democratic, attributed Logan's defeat to the finance question and the heavy taxes that the people were now compelled to pay. It even went so far as to assert its belief that if a vote were to be taken in Oregon upon the question of paying the national debt, the latter would be repudiated.⁹⁷ But the Union-Republican press maintained that their defeat was not attributable to defection in the ranks of their party, but that it was entirely owing to accessions to the Democratic party within the past two years from the disbanded Confederate armies—to the "influx of a rebel, guerilla population" which had been emigrating westward to escape the consequences of reconstruction.⁹⁸ The election figures at least partially supported the Union-Republicans in this contention. The latter had barely held their strength shown by the election of 1866. The vote for Logan, admittedly not a strong candidate, was 300 above that given Governor Woods two years previous. But the Democratic vote had increased by 1800 in the same period, and, what was

⁹⁵ Daily Oregonian, June 5.

⁹⁶ "All that we have to say at this time is soon said. We are beaten. We (the Union party) are too big to cry and we are too badly hurt to laugh."—Daily Oregonian, June 2.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Daily Oregonian, June 8.

⁹⁸ Oregon Sentinel, June 13.
Daily Oregonian, June 12.

more to the point, practically one-third of this increase was registered in the three northeastern counties alone—Union, Grant and Baker—which were steadily being populated by the Southern emigrants. And it is not to be supposed that these three counties received all this emigration.

Five months later the Democrats carried the state for Seymour against Grant, for President. But in the November election the Democratic majority, 165,⁹⁹ was so small that the influence of "Price's Army" as a determining factor in the political readjustment in Oregon was more than ever pronounced. In an editorial on the result, "Oregon a Lonely Mourner for the Lost Cause," the Oregonian announced: "Price's rebels have once more come to the relief of the Copperhead cause. The reinforcement was opportune." The suggestive, though highly colored characterization of the much heralded "army" followed:¹⁰⁰ "It appears that Price's boys in Eastern Oregon can be relied on to give any required majority for the restoration of the 'Lost Cause.' The nomadic rebel Democracy of the country lying between the waters of the Missouri and upper Columbia, combining the characteristics of the wild Indian and the unreconstructed rebel, can change about from one place to another to suit the exigencies of elections, voting now in Oregon, again in Idaho, Montana or Washington and back again in Oregon when the next occasion requires. . . . They constitute the Democratic flying brigade, operating on the frontier. It is anything but agreeable to have a majority of the actual voters of the state beaten by this wandering rebel horde who live nowhere and help to bear none of the burdens of government."

Whatever the influences to which the returning Democratic majorities of 1868 were attributable, the fact remained, the ante-bellum political status in Oregon had for the time been re-established. Upon the new issues which had arisen, two distinct parties had aligned themselves. Upon these and ever new occurring issues the future political battles of the state

⁹⁹ Daily Oregonian, Dec. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Daily Oregonian, Nov. 10.

were to be fought. Whatever its potency might continue to be elsewhere, the rallying cry of "Save the Union!" would no longer win political victories in Oregon.

Having first reviewed the situation in Oregon in the ante-Territorial period, as a basis of political development, the writer has attempted to give a faithful portrayal of the rise of political parties in Oregon; of the manner of their organization and of the influences by which party organization was maintained. It has been the intention to present a view of the political life and activity of this early period. The history of the slavery question in Oregon has been followed in an endeavor to show how extensive and how all-inclusive was the influence of the great National issue. It effected the organization of a new party and the overthrow of the Democratic regime and the disintegration of the Oregon Democracy. The general breaking down of old party lines on the opening of the war and the alignment of the people into the two classes of Union and Disunion, has been shown. And lastly, the process of political adjustment and realignment, growing out of the issues raised by the war, has been followed, leading up through the elections of 1868 which resulted in returning victory for the Democrats.

Having traced the political history of the state to this point of post-bellum readjustment, the purpose of the writer has been fulfilled. The Democratic party maintained in the main its advantage for a few years, after which honors were for a time pretty evenly divided between the two parties. The Republican party gradually assumed the ascendancy again, but the fierce factional struggles which have taken place within its ranks, have many times deprived it of the victories which its numerical superiority would imply. The story of these later political struggles is interesting—partaking often of the dramatic and sensational. However, they were not shaped and dominated by the force of great National and vital issues to the extent that were the earlier political activities, to the period of which the writer has confined his efforts.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Necessarily, in treating a subject of this nature, great dependence must be placed in the newspapers of the period, as sources of material. First, in the records of what actually took place—reports of conventions and meetings of various kinds, resolutions and platforms adopted, legislative proceedings, etc. Second, fully as important, but to be used more guardedly, the expression of public opinion upon those passing events, this public opinion being registered in editorial comment, contributed articles and in oral public expression. Obviously, to measure public sentiment at all accurately by newspaper utterances, it is necessary to have before one, papers representing the various political points of view. In this the writer has been fortunate. From the time political activity in Oregon really begins, newspapers of opposite political tendencies have been available.

Of these, the *Oregonian*, the *Oregon Statesman* and the *Oregon Argus* have been relied upon most extensively. They were the most representative of the Oregon press and extended over the greater part of the period under consideration. On the period of ante-political organization, access was had to the *Spectator*, and, in a limited degree, to the *Western Star*, Milwaukie, changed to the *Oregon Weekly Times* in June, 1851. Next in importance to the first three journals mentioned should be named the *Oregon Weekly Union*, the exponent of anti-Union sentiment in the Civil War era. Other papers directly consulted, were the *Oregon Weekly Times*, the *Oregon Sentinel* and the *Oregon Daily Herald*. Indirectly, yet other papers have been frequently used, by means principally of editorial utterances reproduced in the above mentioned journals.

Closely related to, but differing slightly from the Oregon newspaper sources, is the correspondence of Judge M. P. Deady to the *San Francisco Bulletin*, to be found in what is known as the "Deady scrapbook," in possession of the Oregon Historical Society. In Judge Deady the capacities of keen observation and trenchant expression were combined with the faculty of being able to write with a minimum of personal,

political bias. For this reason, these letters, covering the crucial period of the sixties and written for the perusal of outside readers, are almost invaluable. The same may be said of his personal correspondence.

Supplementing the newspaper material in a very important manner, is the private correspondence, in the Oregon Historical Society collections, of many men who were the most active participants in the politics of the time, notably Joseph Lane, Asahel Bush, J. W. Nesmith, Judge Deady and Jesse Applegate. In this connection may be mentioned also the personal interviews with such men as Judge Geo. H. Williams, former Adjutant General C. A. Reed, W. R. Bishop and Geo. H. Himes, who, either from actual participation or observation, or both, threw much light on the events of a half century ago.

Other primary material used was the collection of Oregon pioneer documents to be found in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. These are largely memoirs and relate principally to settlement and to the period of the Provisional Government. As representative of these may be mentioned, Jesse Applegate's "Views of Oregon History," Deady's "Oregon History," Peter H. Burnett's "Recollections of the Past" and Elwood Evans' "History of Oregon."

Likewise covering the period of the Provisional Government are Grover's "Oregon Archives" and a volume, "Unpublished Documents, Oregon Archives," Ms., in the Bancroft Library.

Of secondary material used, the "Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society," 1900-1909, contains much that has been suggestive and helpful. Such contributions, for example, as "The Genesis of Political Authority in Oregon" and "Social Evolution in Oregon," by J. R. Robertson, and "The Slavery Question in Oregon," by T. W. Davenport, are typical of various articles dealing with both social and political beginnings in Oregon, together with various phases of political development.

The printed Proceedings of the annual meetings of the Ore-

gon Pioneer Association have been used to some extent—for material on the period of settlement principally.

From the nature of the subject, the assistance to be obtained from secondary books, has necessarily been slight. Such books as have been used for reference have been sufficiently cited in the footnotes.

APPENDIX I

The Vote on the Adoption of the Oregon Constitution, November 9, 1857.

(From the official returns published in the Oregon Statesman, December 22.)

	Constitution		Slavery		Free Negroes	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Benton ...	440	215	283	368	132	459
Clackamas.	530	216	98	655	113	594
Clatsop ...	62	37	25	71	25	65
Columbia..	30	66	11	84	24	66
Coos	68	26	19	72	10	79
Curry	117	14	35	95	8	121
Douglas ..	419	203	248	377	23	560
Jackson ..	465	372	405	426	46	710
Josephine .	445	139	155	435	41	534
Lane	591	362	356	602	97	783
Linn	1111	176	198	1092	113	1095
Marion ...	1024	252	214	1055	76	1115
Multnomah	496	255	96	653	112	587
Polk	528	188	231	484	53	584
Tillamook .	23	1	6	22	1	25
Umpqua ..	155	84	32	201	24	181
Wasco	55	89	58	85	18	122
Washington	265	226	68	428	80	393
Yamhill ...	371	274	107	522	85	521
<hr/>						
Total ...	7195	3215	2645	7727	1081	8640
Maj'ties	3980			5082		7559

APPENDIX II

The Vote in the Presidential Election of 1860.

(Official returns in the Statesman, Dec. 3.)

County	Douglas	Lincoln	Breckenridge	Bell
Benton	140	202	381	3
Clackamas	173	409	324	3
Clatsop	38	68	29	..
Columbia	38	46	30	..
Coos	88	71	22	3
Curry	69	42	53	6
Douglas	288	321	502	23
Jackson	406	394	675	88
Josephine	221	261	371	32
Lane	166	492	555	8
Linn	312	580	671	5
Marion	864	598	286	17
Multnomah	364	570	261	5
Polk	390	180	215	4
Tillamook	8	11	13	..
Umpqua	72	151	75	3
Wasco	147	168	255	2
Washington	134	360	140	3
Yamhill	213	420	216	7
Totals	4131	5344	5074	212
Plurality		270		

THE EARLIEST TRAVELERS ON THE OREGON TRAIL

By T. C. Elliott

This year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eleven is commemorative in the basin of the Columbia River. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two marked our first centenary, when Prof. John Fiske crossed the continent from Cambridge to deliver before the Oregon Pioneer Association at Astoria an address in honor of the discovery of the Columbia River by Capt. Robt. Gray. In 1905 the Lewis and Clark Exposition (really suggested by the Oregon Historical Society) at Portland most fittingly commemorated the transcontinental explorations of that wonderful expedition. During this present year of 1911 there have already been held exercises at Astoria to celebrate the coming of the Tonquin by sea with its division of the Astorians, and at Kettle Falls in honor of the arrival there of that great pathfinder David Thompson from Canada; and now during these closing days of the year in this beautiful valley of the mountains is gathered this company to recall the presence here in December, 1811, of the land division of the Astorians under the leadership of Wilson Price Hunt. And what a passing was that one hundred years ago in contrast with the luxurious train service that brought your visitors to this city to-day! Traveling on foot, reduced to dog and horse flesh for food, and even that very difficult to obtain; weary, faint and anxious, their leader pushed on from day to day, with no other alternative to be sure but still courageously inquiring for the Columbia River which he knew must be ahead of them could they survive to reach it. Those were the first white men yet known to have passed through Eastern Oregon: all honor to their passing!

It is not the purpose of this address to retell the story of that journey in its detail; others will have done that and it is being religiously brought to your attention by the press.

NOTE.—An address delivered at the centenary exercises at Baker, Oregon, December 28, 1911.

Rather let me refer briefly to the early development of this particular part of the transcontinental route then traversed for the first time and to a few of the fur traders, American and Canadian, who were prominent in the exploration and trade of the Columbia River basin, of which this valley is a part. We of today have personal recollection of that sudden rush to Alaska almost within the last decade, of how men of culture and of career took part in the isolation, exposure and dangers incident to that remarkable movement. Bearing that in mind it is possible to better appreciate the call in earlier years of the fur trade to the men of family name, of education and of marked commercial ability who undertook and endured the hardships and associations common to such a life. Be it remembered that it was the fur trade that brought the Cabots to the coast of North America; the fur trade that following the voyage of Capt. Cook lured the Yankee trading vessels to the Northwest coast of America and to the discovery of the Columbia River; the fur trade that opened the first transcontinental way across the Rocky Mountains at the sources of the Columbia; the fur trade that saved Oregon to the United States (if such a term is ever proper) by the opening of this track across the plains and mountains and furnishing our government with information as to the country and actually marking the way for the pioneer. And this Valley is located directly upon the Oregon Trail.

First in priority of travel and trade to be mentioned is Wilson Price Hunt, who led the way through this Valley and passed none too comfortable a night here just one hundred years ago. Search the pages of your biographical dictionary and you will fail to find his name, but the building occupied by the Central National Bank upon one of the principal business corners of the historic city of St. Louis marks the location of his family residence; he had been in business there before being associated with Mr. Astor and returned to that city after the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company were wound up. Mr. Hunt was a gentleman and a scholar. He was born in New Jersey in the year 1782, and doubtless endured troublesome

nights in that state as well as in this valley, for that was before the control of the birth of mosquitoes by scientific devices. He was therefore less than thirty years of age when here one hundred years ago. He later became one of the prominent men of St. Louis when that city was the emporium for the entire region West of the Mississippi and by Pres. Monroe was appointed postmaster and held that office for nearly twenty years, and that when it meant something more than mere political skill to be appointed to such an office. He married in later life into a leading family and died there in April, 1842. With his neighbor, Gen. William Clark, an earlier traveler on the Columbia, he was one of the charter members of Christ Church, and his name plate appeared upon a pew in the former edifice of that, the oldest Protestant Episcopal Church of the Great Southwest. He was also prominent in Masonic circles. Upon Mr. Hunt devolved the chief authority in the conduct of the affairs of the Pacific Fur Company on the Columbia, and but for his enforced absence from Astoria the business of the Company might possibly have been brought to a different conclusion. We read of his passing bon mots and crossing commercial swords with Count Baranoff at Sitka, in Alaska, and of his purchasing for ten thousand dollars upon credit only the brig Pedlar at the Sandwich Islands in order to return to the Columbia and protect the interests of the Company, transactions which reflect handsomely his forcefulness and integrity. Quite appropriately might his name be honored by tablet or monument in this city, or by a peak of the Elkhorn Mt. range, as the man who first traveled the Oregon Trail from Shoshone Falls to the Pacific Ocean.

Wilson Price Hunt did not see this Valley again, nor did many of those who were in his party. The following summer (1812) a few of the Astorians returned through here, Mr. Robert Stuart to carry dispatches to Mr. Astor and Messrs. Crooks and McClellan to quit an enterprise with which they were already disgusted; their journey to St. Louis lasted until the following spring and was full of peril and hardship. In spite of that Ramsay Crooks became eloquent about the coun-

try he passed through and Thomas H. Benton in his "Thirty-Year's View" speaks of being entertained by Mr. Crooks at Brown's Hotel in Washington for days with descriptions of the region beyond the Rockies, while he, Benton, in 1821, was waiting for Missouri to be admitted to the Union and his credentials as its first senator to be passed upon by the Senate; and it was this same Ramsay Crooks who helped to inspire Dr. John Floyd of Virginia to introduce that first measure ever introduced in Congress respecting the occupation of Oregon. Ramsay Crooks after 1813 became prominent in the fur trade of the Lakes and was in charge of Mr. Astor's interests there. And by way of diversion the opportunity offers here to retell a story of Mr. Silas B. Smith's of Clatsop Plains before the Oregon Hist. Society in 1899. Speaking of the arrival in the Columbia in 1840 of the ship *Lausanne* from New York with the reinforcement of Methodist missionaries Mr. Smith said: "It was arranged that we should take passage on the ship. The bar pilot had been engaged at Honolulu, a sailor who had entered the river once twenty years before. No wonder there were terrors on the bar! At Baker's Bay an Indian by the name of Ramsay was engaged as river pilot, the same who was interpreter on the *Tonquin* at the time of her destruction at *Clayoquot*. He had only one eye but was a good pilot. Ramsay was his English name; it came, I think, from Ramsay Crooks, given the same way as General Joe Lane gave half his name to the Rogue river chief who was afterwards known as Chief Joe. * * *

Above Oak Point a special express from Dr. McLoughlin met us with vegetables and fresh provisions; with the express was a mulatto with the high sounding name of George Washington. He had a statement from Dr. McLoughlin that he was a river pilot. Of course, with such a paper from the Doctor, he was immediately installed as chief pilot, to the great humiliation of Ramsay. George, however, did not run the vessel many miles before he placed her high on a sand bar. It was Ramsay's opportunity; stepping to the captain and pointing to George Washington, he said, 'He know how to cook the meat, he no pilot, you let me pilot ship and me run her aground,

you take a knife,' and with a pantomimic sweep of his hand he drew it across his throat. It is needless to say the Indian was reinstated as pilot."

In the summer of 1813 also a small party of Astorians passed eastward through this valley under the leadership of John Reed, who is described as a Hibernian. Among them were the interpreter, Pierre Dorion, and his wife, and the instructions were to trade and trap for furs on the streams now known as the Weiser, Payette and Boise during the fall and winter. This party were killed by the Indians, all except the faithful Madame Dorion, that mother of the first child of white parentage to be born in Eastern Oregon, which event took place in this Valley on Dec. 30th, 1811. She found her way back to the Columbia in the spring of 1814 and among those to whom she related her story was the next fur trader of whom I would especially speak, Mr. Donald Mackenzie, who was then bound for New York by way of the Columbia and Saskatchewan and Montreal with the report of the final winding up of the Pacific Fur Company's affairs at Astoria and with drafts to the amount (according to Mr. Ross) of eighty thousand dollars in his belt. The terms of the sale to the Northwest Company included transportation from Astoria to Montreal for such Astorians as wished to return.

With the passing of the Astorians from the Columbia the use of this trail appears to have been discontinued for four years. There may have been straggling white hunters passing over it but we as yet have no record. It remained for this same Donald Mackenzie to return to the Columbia before the Snake Country trade was again undertaken; and that was in the year 1818. Quite likely Mr. Mackenzie passed through this valley on an exploration trip during the winter of 1817-18, but of that we are not certain.

Donald Mackenzie is a fur trader who has not yet received merited attention for what he accomplished on the Columbia. In family line he is said to have been related to Sir Alex. Mackenzie who made that first journey across the continent by land in 1792-3 and established British rights north of the 49th

parallel which made the political cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" look so ridiculous to our diplomats in 1844-5-6. Donald Mackenzie had seen service in the fur trade in the Indian Country of British North America with the "Northwesters" of Canada and joined the Astorians under some special inducement. At Cauldron Linn (at Milner, Idaho, about twenty miles above Shoshone Falls) in October of 1811 with a few others he separated from the main party and found his way to Astoria a full month in advance of Mr. Hunt, having succeeded in forcing his way through the rough mountains along the east bank of Snake river and across Salmon river to the Clearwater and thence to the sea in canoes. If he had differences with Wilson Price Hunt they were only those common to the different dispositions of men, and incident to his own really superior experience in the field life of the fur trade to that of Mr. Hunt himself; and his service with the Pacific Fur Company was both intelligent and valuable. He returned to the Columbia in the fall of 1817 as a chief factor in the Northwest Company with instructions to assume the management of all the business of that Company in the Interior, as distinguished from that of the Coast and lower river, and especially to develop the trade in the Snake Country which he knew from actual observation to be so valuable.

Donald Mackenzie was a wonderful man to deal with Indians; his influence over them was remarkable, due to his powerful physique and activity as well as his tact, courage, endurance and daring. (Washington Irving relates in "Astoria" his bold entrance into the lodge of one of the robber—Klickitat—chiefs at Wishram—Celilo—in quest of a rifle that had been taken from the whites). His hair is said to have been of the color some people prefer to call sandy and his weight about three hundred and twenty pounds. This would make him a very good physical duplicate of our own President Taft, but golf would have been slow exercise for him. He was a great pedestrian, could outwalk any of his associates and was continually on the move.

The first thing that Donald Mackenzie did after getting the

trade of the various posts of the upper river organized to best advantage and himself making a flying trip to the Snake country, was to erect a Fort at the mouth of the Walla Walla river as a base for the Snake country trade. This was named Fort Nez Perces, but came to be more generally known as Fort Walla Walla (and the site is even now platted as such on the county records of Walla Walla County although a mere sand and gravel flat without improvement at the present day). This was in the summer of 1818. Not at all daunted by the lateness of the season, Mr. Mackenzie then organized his first Snake Country expedition. Quoting from Mr. Ross we are told that "the expedition was composed of fifty-five men of all denominations, one hundred and ninety-five horses, and three hundred beaver traps, besides a considerable stock of merchandise; but depending upon the chances of the chase, they set out without provisions or stores of any kind." * * * "The party took their departure at the end of September, in the full view and amid the cheers of all the natives. Turning his back, therefore, upon the rest of his extensive charge, with all its ease and fruits of comfort, Mackenzie, without any second or friend in whom he could confide, placed himself at the head of this medley, to suffer new hardships and face new dangers, in the precarious adventure." This is the party which undoubtedly passed through the Powder River Valley in October of 1818 and began to break up into small parties and occasion the leader much trouble in this very vicinity. Mackenzie led the main party clear to Black Bear River as he called it and leaving them there himself returned to Fort Nez Perces, arriving after traveling six hundred miles on snow shoes in mid-winter, accompanied by only six companions. Here was a winter journey not yet awarded poetic recognition and illustrating the energy, tirelessness and leadership of this man!

On his return trip to the Portneuf that spring Mr. Mackenzie (desiring to know the practicability of transporting his furs by water route) accomplished a feat that seems to us remarkable in the light of present day navigation; he ascended the Snake river from the mouth of the Clearwater to the mouth of

Burnt river through what we know as the Box Canyon in a Canadian batteau or barge. Four of his companions returned to Fort Nez Percés down through the Canyon again in the bateau with the following letter to Mr. Ross: "Piont Successful, Head of the Narrows, April 15th, 1819. The passage by water is now proved to be safe and practicable for loaded boats, without one single carrying place or portage; therefore, the doubtful question is set at rest forever. Yet from the force of the current, and the frequency of rapids it may still be advisable, and perhaps preferable, to continue the land transport, while the business in this quarter is carried on upon a small scale. We had often recourse to the line. There are two places with bold cut rocks on either side of the river, where the great body of water is compressed within a narrow compass, which may render those parts doubtful during the floods, owing to rocks and whirlpools; but there are only two, and neither of them are long." With but two companions he continued on across the plains of Idaho and his letter continues: "I am now about to commence a very doubtful and dangerous undertaking, and shall, I fear, have to adopt the habits of the owl, roam in the night and skulk in the day, to avoid our enemies. But if my life is spared, I will be at the river Skam-naugh (i. e. the Boise), with my people and return, by the 5th of June. Hasten, therefore, the outfit, with some additional hands if possible, to that place. A strong escort will be advisable, and caution the person you may send in charge to be at all times, both day and night, on his guard." Their route followed the well established trail through this valley, and the value of the beaver skins packed through here, two packs of sixty pounds each to the animal, would surprise us, if known.

Time is lacking to follow Mr. Mackenzie during his four years' development of the trade in the Snake country. From his journals quite surely were taken the names that became attached on the Arrowsmith (London) maps to many of the localities of the Upper Snake river region; Brulé (or Burnt), Owyhee, Weiser, Payette, Malade, Portneuf and others; and if these journals could become available it is almost certain that

they would reveal him to have been a visitor to Great Salt Lake, the actual discoverer of which is still in doubt.

In the fall of 1821 news was received at Fort Nez Percés that the name Northwest Company had passed out of legal existence and the trade been consolidated under that of the Hudson's Bay Company; this marks the beginning of the use of that powerful name on the waters of the middle and lower Columbia. This news rather disturbed conditions for the time and the command of the Snake Country expedition leaving in the Fall of 1822 was entrusted to Finan Macdonald, a clerk, but whose knowledge of the country of the upper Columbia basin could hardly have been excelled by anyone, for he had reached its waters with David Thompson in 1807-8 and had been west of the Rockies ever since. He it was who passed this way in the fall of 1822, but having ideas of his own as to a more direct route to and from the hunting grounds returned the following year across the mountains northward to the Bitter Root Valley and through the Flathead country to Spokane House. The career of Finan Macdonald is but little known and he is given only passing mention; his ideas of the better route were tried out during 1823-4 by Alex. Ross and the use of the trail from the Columbia to the Boise by way of Powder river was again discontinued by large parties but undoubtedly used by detached trappers and couriers.

During the organization of the Pacific Fur Company in 1809-10 an office was necessarily maintained in Montreal; Donald Mackenzie was one of those especially active there in the selection of the voyageurs for the overland party. Employed for a time in Mr. Astor's office was a young man whose father dignified the position of "Justice of the Court of the King's Bench" at Montreal, the Honourable Isaac Ogden. This young man, the youngest of a large family of children and his father's favorite, tired of the study of law in comparison with the glamour of the fur trade; and there is reason to suspect from traditional accounts that he was given to youthful activities—not necessarily vicious—which disturbed the serenity of mind of his mother and her activities in society. (See Bancroft's

Hist. of N. W. Coast). He entered the employ of the Northwest Company in 1811 (just one hundred years ago), and his daring career as a clerk in that Company on the Columbia and elsewhere was known to Donald Mackenzie, with whom probably Governor Geo. Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company consulted as to the difficulties and importance of the Snake Country trade. At any rate Peter Skene Ogden (a name now familiar and honored in Oregon history), is the next fur trader to be noticed as a traveler over this trail. He assumed command of the Snake Country expedition in the winter of 1824 and set out from Flathead Fort about the middle of December of that year at the head of "the most formidable party that ever set out for the Snakes," consisting of "25 lodges, 2 gentlemen, 2 interpreters, 71 men and lads, 80 guns, 364 beaver traps 372 horses." His first year was disastrous in that nearly half his men deserted under persuasion of a party of Rocky Mt. Fur Company (American) trappers, but for all that he passed through this valley en route to Fort Nez Perces about the first of November, 1825, with a goodly number of beaver skins in his packs.

The story of the career of Peter Skene Ogden could well occupy an entire address. He is the man whose name became tradition around Great Salt Lake in Utah so that upon the arrival there of the Mormons the present city of Ogden was christened in his honor; the man who first explored the region of the Humboldt river, who first recorded the name of Mount Shasta, who first explored the central and southern Oregon country which is now being so rapidly developed; the man who hastened up the Columbia immediately after the massacre of the white people at the Wai-i-lat-pu Mission in 1847 and ransomed the fifty or more women and children held in captivity there by the Cayuse Indians. This story has been recently published by the Oregon Historical Society and is available to such as desire it at your Public Library. You are more especially concerned in his associations with this particular Valley and the mountains which surround it and streams which flow through it. The Wilson Price Hunt party passed through

here under conditions of dire distress, but their situation was not one whit less serious than that of Peter Skene Ogden's party of trappers while crossing the Elkhorn mountains from the waters of the John Day river to those of the Powder or of Burnt River in the winter of 1825-6.

A few entries from his journals will tell that story in his own words:

"Thursday, 26th (January, 1826). Ice forming on river; course east by north 8 miles over a lofty range of hills bare of wood N. E. Here we leave the waters of Day's River. Since joining Mr. McDonald, allowing we had one hundred hunters, had we not our traps we must have starved to death. Where the Indians of this part reside in winter I cannot (tell); have no doubt concealed in the mountains. * * *

"Friday, 27th. My guide refuses to proceed, says road is bad and horses require day's rest. I was obliged to comply. Thank God, when we get across the mountains I trust I shall soon reach Snake River or south branch of the Columbia; 9 beaver and 1 otter.

"Saturday, 28th. Our guide says there are 6 feet of snow in mountains; impossible to pass in this direction; must try another. Many in the camp are starving. For the last ten days only one meal every two days. Still the Company's horses must not fall a sacrifice. We hope when we get across the mountains to fare better; today 4 beaver.

"Sunday, 29th. Three inches of snow; raised camp for S.E. 6 miles; our guide says he intends to return. A horse this day killed; on examining his feet, the hoof entirely worn away and only raw stump.

"February 2. We are now on the waters of the south branch of the Columbia.

"February 3. This surely is the Snake Country; as far as the eye can reach, nothing but lofty mountains. A more gloomy country I never yet saw; too (?) horses killed for food today.

"Saturday, February 4th. We have taken 85 beaver and 16 otter on Day's River; my Snake guide brought in 4 sheep (Ibex). He says this is Burnt River.

"Feb. 5th. Course E. N. E. Crossed river three times and found the ice sufficiently strong to bear our horses. One of the men detected this day stealing a beaver out of another man's trap; as starvation was the cause of this he was pardoned on condition of promising not to do it again.

"10th Feb. Followed the banks of Burnt River S. S. E. 10 miles. One horse killed. Nearly every bone in his body broken. Two of the men could not advance from weakness. We have been on short allowance almost too long and resemble so many skeletons; one trap this day gave us 14 beaver.

"11 Feb. Crossed Burnt River within 3 miles of its discharge into Snake River or South branch of Columbia. It has given us 54 beaver and 6 otter."

But such experiences did not discourage in the least; the following season always found him at the same post of responsibility and subject to the same exposures. Those responsibilities were even greater than had existed in earlier years because the American trappers had arrived from across the divide of the Rockies and the competition was more keen and the Indians more troublesome. On his way to the Portneuf in 1827 Mr. Ogden found Rocky Mountain Fur Company trappers at work as far west as the Weiser river and heard of them even in this very vicinity. And with three thousand beaver skins in his packs valued at between ten and twenty thousand dollars at Fort Vancouver it meant some care and responsibility to journey from the extremes of the Snake Country (Pocatello or Winnemucca for instance) to the Columbia, often with less than a dozen people in his company. The usual custom was to leave Fort Nez Perces in September by the trail leading up the Walla Walla river as far as the Forks of that stream, five miles above Milton, Oregon; to cross the Blue Mountain Range by what has become the Toll Gate road to the lower end of the Grande Ronde Valley at Summerville (and there they used to cut the lodge or tepee poles for the season); thence they passed through the Grande Ronde Valley and over the divide to the Powder river usually making a camp for the night at the large spring, called by them a fountain, now

quite certainly located about five miles from this city and appropriately called Ogden's Fountain; and from here by the regular road to the Snake River at Huntington. It was along in this Valley that Mr. Ogden would begin to divide his party into detachments, sending them in different directions upon different streams with instructions to meet again at a certain place and date; and rarely were the appointments missed. The whole party would return to Fort Nez Perces again in June or July following.

In the summer of 1829 Mr. Ogden was ordered to conduct a party to California and he turned over the Snake Country Brigade to his worthy companion John Work (or Wark as spelled in Scotland) who succeeded to its difficulties and dangers. Our record of the journeys of John Work is not yet entirely available and we are unable to speak at length. John Work was another forceful fur trader who left his track along most of the streams of the Columbia basin. His journals were kept very regularly and usually with some elaboration, and to him we are indebted for much of the detail that can be stated with accuracy concerning those early days. His body lies buried at Victoria in British Columbia where the family line is perpetuated through descendants of William Fraser Tolmie, who married one of his daughters. Mr. John Work continued in charge of the Snake Country trade (as far as we know), until 1832-4, when that irrepressible Yankee from Cambridge, Mass., Nathaniel J. Wyeth, twice crossed the plains and mountains to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company for the commerce of the Columbia and built Fort Hall on the Upper Snake. And with the advent of the American travelers from across the Rockies we will consider this chapter complete.

The development of the "Oregon Trail" may be otherwise termed an example of "the survival of the fittest to survive." The white man has followed in the track of the red man; first on foot, then on horseback, then in the wheeled wagon or "horse-canoe," a little later in the passenger coach, later still in the Pullman, and finally in the automobile. When Wilson Price Hunt fell into direst extremity the Shoshone Indian con-

sented to show the way his people had traveled, from the time he could remember and earlier. This was the road used by the Cayuses on their way to the buffalo country; for the plains and valleys of Southern Idaho and Oregon and Northern Utah and Nevada were once the range of the buffalo. This was the war track connecting the Snake with the Nez Perces nations, for it was the nature of the Indian to maraud. With the advent of the white man came commerce, then habitation here and there, and progress step by step to the civilization of the present day.

Such centenaries as this, which recall the deeds and men of former years, fitly contribute to the culture of the present.

CENTENNIAL OF ARRIVAL OF FIRST WHITE MEN IN BAKER COUNTY.

By George H. Himes

It was a happy as well as a timely thought on the part of Rev. J. Neilson Barry, rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Baker, Oregon, to begin early in 1911 to agitate the question of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first white men in the Powder Valley. These men were led by Wilson Price Hunt, a partner of John Jacob Astor, who left St. Louis on March 12, 1811, and constituted the overland section of the Astor Expedition. Mr. Barry followed the suggestion by making a critical study of the route followed, so far as it is described by Washington Irving in his "Astoria," and other books relating to the subject. And furthermore, from the time when the expedition left Snake River on its way to Powder River Valley and on westward to the locality where Baker is now situated, and on beyond to Grand Ronde Valley, a distance of over one hundred miles, Mr. Barry explored the route the Hunt party followed, by rail, bicycle, wagon or on foot, as the necessities of the self-appointed task required. By describing these experiences from day to day and comparing the trails he found with the roadways of the present time in the daily papers of his city for several weeks prior to the date fixed for the celebration—December 28th—much interest in the event was aroused among the citizens of Baker.

During the afternoon of the day appointed two auto loads of the guests from outside of Baker—among them Judge Stephen A. Lowell and Senator C. A. Barrett, Pendleton, T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla, Washington, Senator Walter A. Pierce, Hot Lake, and George H. Himes, Portland—were taken to "Ogden's Fountain"—Peter Skene Ogden's camp, Sept. 30, 1828—and camping ground of Hunt one hundred years ago—both on the "Cold Spring Ranch," six miles south of Baker, owned by Mr. D. H. Shaw. This trip was made in the teeth of a fierce snow storm, which gave the participants a

hint of the conditions which both Ogden and Hunt and his men frequently encountered, to say nothing about the contrast in the method of locomotion.

At six o'clock P. M. a banquet was given at the Geiser Grand Hotel, with over one hundred of Baker's principal citizens present in addition to the guests from abroad. Two especially interesting characters—David Littlefield and William H. Packwood—were in attendance as guests of honor. Mr. Littlefield is the only survivor of the party which discovered gold in Griffin's Gulch, about nine miles from Baker, in August, 1861, and Mr. Packwood is the only surviving member of the Oregon Constitutional Convention of August-September, 1857. Mr. Charles H. Breck, of Baker, was toastmaster and responses were made by a number of the visiting guests.

At eight o'clock the formal exercises were held at Nevius Hall, with Judge William Smith, of Baker, presiding. The principal address was given by T. C. Elliott, Walla Walla, Washington, and his subject was "The Earliest Travelers on the Oregon Trail." This address appears in full elsewhere in this number of *The Quarterly*. Judge Lowell, Senators Pierce and Barrett, Mr. Littlefield, Mr. Packwood and Mr. Himes followed with short addresses; emphasis being given by each speaker to the educational value of preserving the memory of historical places and the actors connected with the same.

At the suggestion of Mr. Himes the following telegram, signed by Mr. Elliott, Director, and himself as Assistant Secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, was sent to the American Historical Association in session at Buffalo, New York: "Citizens of this place and members of the Oregon Historical Society are celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Americans into the Powder River Valley. This body of men, led by Wilson Price Hunt, was the overland section of the Astor party. We send you greeting."

An announcement was made by Judge Smith that the centennial of the discovery of Hot Lake, Union County, would be celebrated in August next with special exercises and a barbecue.

NOTES

A few years ago the State of Kansas provided for the marking of the course of the old Santa Fe Trail across that State; last year a commission created by act of the legislature of Nebraska undertook the marking of the old Oregon Trail throughout its course in that state. Would it not be seemly for the State of Oregon to take cognizance of its wealth historical prestige?

The legislature of Indiana at its last session provided for the initial steps toward erecting a building which shall house the state library and museum. This building is designed to be a "permanent memorial for the centennial of Indiana's statehood." The state and local archives of that commonwealth have been examined as to their safety and the need is seen for the permanent and proper housing of these records. It is being strongly urged that all documents, both state and local, which are not in current use, be placed under the care of the department of archives and history.

At the eighth annual conference of historical societies held at Buffalo in December one of the two principal subjects of discussion was historical society buildings. The speakers emphasized the need of clear and definite ideas of the purposes to be served by such a building. Among these were that it should be useful to as many people in a community as possible; that it should contain an auditorium of ample size, thoroughly equipped for entertainments and especially for illustrated lectures; the offices should be adapted to the sort of work to be carried on and that the building should contain some place where the quiet essential to historical and literary work may be found.

At the third annual conference of archivists, also held in conjunction with the meeting of the American Historical Association at Buffalo, the problem of protecting archives from fire was the main topic of discussion. This was suggested by the recent catastrophes at Albany and at Jefferson City. Constant supervision, with fire-fighting apparatus in readiness, was counted indispensable even in a building structurally fire-proof.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE OREGON PRO- VISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND WHAT CAUSED ITS FORMATION

Address delivered by Frederick V. Holman at Champoege, May 2, 1912*

In order to have an accurate idea of the Provisional Government of Oregon, the reasons which led to its creation, and of its beginning, it is necessary to consider the condition of affairs in the Oregon Country prior to, and in the years 1841 and 1842.

THE OREGON COUNTRY.

Prior to the boundary treaty of June, 1846, fixing the present boundary line between the United States and Canada, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, what is known as the "Oregon Country" was definitely bounded on the south by north latitude 42 degrees, then the north boundary of the Spanish settlements west of the Rocky Mountains, and now the north boundary lines of the States of California and Nevada; on the west by the Pacific Ocean; and indefinitely on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains; and on the north by an undetermined line, claimed by the United States as being 54 degrees and 40 minutes; north latitude. It included all of the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and parts of the States of Montana and Wyoming, and a large part of the present Dominion of British Columbia.

* (When Mr. Holman began writing this address, he intended it should be merely an address at the anniversary of the meeting of May 2, 1843. As it was desired to have it printed in this Quarterly, while he wrote it in the form of an address, he made it a brief history of the Oregon Provisional Government, including causes which led to its formation. A portion only of this address was read by him at Champoege, May 2, 1912.—Editor.)

In this address I cannot go into the details of the respective claims of the United States and of Great Britain to the Oregon country, nor on what these respective claims were based.

After the discovery of the Columbia River by Capt. Robert Gray, May 11, 1792, there were no land expeditions by either government, nor expeditions by any of its citizens to the Oregon country until the expedition of Lewis and Clark which reached the mouth of the Columbia River in 1805, and excepting also the journey of Alexander Mackenzie, one of the partners of the Northwest Company, in 1793, which was north of latitude 52 degrees. On this journey, Mackenzie discovered the upper waters of what is now called the Fraser River in British Columbia. Nor shall I more than mention the establishment by the Northwest Company (of Montreal), in 1806, and thereafter, of posts in the northern interior of British Columbia on the Fraser River, its tributaries, and its and their vicinities, nor the discovery by David Thompson, in 1807, of the head waters of the Columbia River.

I shall but merely mention the founding of Astoria, April 12, 1811, by the Pacific Fur Company, controlled by John Jacob Astor; of the treacherous sale of the assets of this company by Duncan McDougal—one of Astor's partners—to the Northwest Company in October, 1813; of the capture of Astoria, November 13, 1813, by a British sloop-of-war, and of the restoration of Astoria to the United States, October 6, 1818, under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, by which the war of 1812 was terminated.

The Northwest Company continued the business and enterprises in the Oregon Country, which it had acquired by the purchase of the business of the Pacific Fur Company, and also of the business which the Northwest Company had established on its own account in the Oregon Country, until it coalesced with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. In 1824, Dr. John McLoughlin came to take charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs west of the Rocky Mountains. He changed the head-

quarters of the company from Astoria, near to what is now the City of Vancouver, Washington, naming the place Fort Vancouver. From his arrival in Oregon until 1840, and for a few years after that year, he was the great and noble autocrat of the whole Oregon Country, its ruler and the protector of all peoples therein, not only of the Indians, but of the white people, without regard to race, citizenship, or religion. And this came about by common consent, and by the fact that he was by nature a great leader and captain of men—absolute, severe, just, honest, humane, kindly, and courteous to all white people—to those connected with his company as well as to those having no relation to it. He was the absolute, but just, master of the Indians, of whom, it is estimated, there were one hundred thousand in the Oregon Country when he came, in 1824.

THE JOINT-OCCUPANCY OF THE OREGON COUNTRY.

Unfortunately, the Treaty of Ghent did not settle the Oregon question. By what is called a convention, instead of a treaty, between the United States and Great Britain, signed October 20, 1818, it was provided that the Oregon Country should be free and open for a period of ten years, to the citizens and subjects of the two countries, i. e., what was called joint-occupancy. Another convention for joint-occupancy between these countries was signed August 6, 1827, which continued in force until the boundary treaty of 1846 went into effect.

There were no laws of the United States in effect in this whole Oregon Country. There was little trouble between the white people, or between the white people and the Indians, for the great command of Dr. John McLoughlin was practically supreme; although it had no more than a moral force with citizens of the United States, for he did not attempt to exercise authority over them.

By the Act of the British Parliament in July, 1821, the Courts of Judicature of Upper Canada were given jurisdiction of civil and criminal matters in the Indian Territory and

other parts of America, not within the protection of Lower or Upper Canada, nor of any civil government of the United States. Under this law, Justices of the Peace in the Oregon Country were appointed. James Douglas, afterwards knighted and Governor of Vancouver's Island, was the first Justice of the Peace at Fort Vancouver. But this act of Parliament did not apply to American citizens, and no attempt was made to enforce it upon them.

SETTLERS IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY.

As early as 1825, from what he had seen of the Oregon Country, Dr. John McLoughlin concluded that Western Oregon was the finest portion of North America, that he had seen, for the residence of civilized man. He later ascertained that wheat of an exceptionally fine quality grew there.

The Hudson's Bay Company was bound, under heavy penalties, not to discharge any of its servants or employés, in the Indian country, and to return them to the places where they were originally hired. But prior to 1827, several Canadian servants or employés, whose times of service were about ended, did not desire to return to Canada but to settle in Oregon. To accommodate these persons, Dr. McLoughlin agreed to keep them on the books of the Company, to purchase their wheat, and to sell them supplies at very reasonable prices. The first settler in the Willamette Valley was Etienne Lucier. He first settled at a point about where Stephens' Addition to East Portland is situated, but in the year 1827, or 1828 (the exact year is doubtful), he moved to what is now called French Prairie, not far from Champoeg, and made there his permanent residence, which continued during his life. He died in 1853.

In course of time, other French-Canadian servants or employés of the Hudson's Bay Company settled on French Prairie, so that, in 1841, there were a number of families there, the number of grown men being about sixty.

Hon. Willard H. Rees, in the annual address, in 1879, before the Oregon Pioneer Association, speaking of these French-Canadian settlers, said:

"There were a very few of the old Canadian settlers who had received any book education, and as few that could speak any English. The latter was in a great measure owing to the formation by the early fur traders of a dialect called the Chinook Jargon, comprising words from the Indian, French and English languages."

Nevertheless, they were men of good character, and of kindly disposition, and regarded Dr. McLoughlin with simple, but absolute, reverence. Among these French-Canadians, in addition to Etienne Lucier, were Joseph Gervais, and Louis LaBonté, who came to Oregon with the party of Wilson Price Hunt in 1812.

AMERICAN SETTLERS IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY PRIOR TO 1841.

Prior to 1841 a number of American citizens, and a few British subjects, most of them having Indian wives, had settled in different parts of the Willamette Valley, and particularly near French Prairie, in parts of Yamhill County, and on what was called the Tualatin Plains, situated in Washington County. These men were men of high courage, and most of them had been engaged in trapping or trading with the Indians. It is difficult, if not impossible, now, to ascertain the names of all of these early settlers, and in some instances, there is doubt as to the exact years in which they settled in Oregon. After a somewhat careful examination, however, I believe that I have obtained the names of most, if not all of them, who were living in Oregon in February, 1841, and, at least, approximately the respective years in which they settled in Oregon. The American citizens I shall hereinafter call "Americans."

The following men were Americans: William Cannon, who came to Oregon in 1811, with the party of Wilson Price Hunt. He was living in the Willamette Valley when Commodore Wilkes was here in 1841. Solomon H. Smith, Calvin Tibbetts, and G. Sargent came to Oregon with the first expedition of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in 1832, and settled in the Willamette Valley. George W. Ebberts, a free trapper, is said to have settled in the Willamette Valley in 1833, but in Bancroft's His-

tory of Oregon, it is said he came in 1839, and in Gray's History of Oregon, it is said he came in 1840.

It was in 1834 that the real settlement in Oregon by Americans began. The first expedition of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, in 1832, was a failure because his vessel, loaded with goods and supplies, was wrecked in the South Pacific ocean, but his party was very small when it arrived in the Oregon Country. He returned to his home in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1834 he came again to Oregon with a large party, well equipped. With him came the first missionaries: Rev. Jason Lee, and Rev. Daniel Lee, Canadians and British subjects, Cyrus Shepard, P. L. Edwards, and Courtney M. Walker, Americans. They were all Methodists. These Methodist missionaries settled on or near French Prairie at a place about ten miles north of Salem, and there established the first mission of any kind in the Oregon Country.

After continuing his enterprise for a time, this second expedition of Wyeth's failed, and he sold all his assets to the Hudson's Bay Company. Of the men in this second expedition, there settled in Oregon: James A. O'Neil, Thomas J. Hubbard, Charles Roe, Richard McCrary, all Americans.

In 1834 there came from California, a party led by Ewing Young, who settled in Chehalem Valley, on the west side of the Willamette River, not far distant from Champoege. In addition to Ewing Young, there were the following white settlers. Lawrence Carmichel, Joseph Gale, Webley John Hauxhurst, John Howard, Brandywine, Kilborn, and John McCarty, all Americans.

In 1835 there also came a party from California who settled in the Willamette Valley. They were: Dr. W. J. Bailey, born in Ireland, George Gay, an Englishman, each of whom joined with the Americans in founding the Provisional Government, and John Turner, an American.

William Johnson, an Englishman, settled near Champoege about 1835. Commodore Wilkes speaks of staying at Johnson's house in 1841. Wilkes says that Johnson was a seaman and took part in the naval fight between the Constitution and

the Guerriere in the war of 1812, but Wilkes does not say on which ship Johnson fought. Presumably, from Wilkes' narrative, Johnson was on the Constitution. After being a trapper for several years, Johnson settled in Oregon.

In 1836 there came the first missionaries appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They were: Rev. H. H. Spalding, Dr. Marcus Whitman, and their wives, and W. H. Gray, Presbyterians. They established their missions at Waiilatpu, near the present city of Walla Walla, Washington, and at Lapwai, near the present city of Lewiston, Idaho. In 1838 they were joined by Rev. Cushing Eells and Rev. Elkanah Walker, and their wives, Congregationalists, appointed by the same Board, who established a mission at Tshimakain (now spelled Chemakane), near Ft. Colville, Washington, and by Cornelius Rogers who was a teacher, first at Lapwai and afterwards at Waiilatpu. None of these missionaries took part in forming the Provisional Government, excepting W. H. Gray, who had left these missionaries and settled in the Willamette Valley prior to 1841. They were all Americans.

In 1837 the following Methodist missionaries arrived in Oregon: Dr. Elijah White and wife, Rev. David Leslie and wife, Rev. H. K. W. Perkins, Alanson Beers and wife, W. H. Willson, and three women missionaries, who afterwards married Methodist missionaries. In 1837 Henry Wood came from California with the Cattle Company. They were all Americans.

In 1838 there came to Oregon the first Catholic missionaries. They were: Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, afterwards the first Catholic Archbishop of Oregon, and Rev. Modeste Demers, afterwards a Bishop. They were French-Canadians and British subjects. Rev. Pierre DeSmet, the noted Jesuit missionary, did not come to Oregon until 1840, and did not make Oregon his permanent home. He was a Belgian.

In 1839 or 1840, there were several free trappers who made Oregon their home, having left the service of the American Fur Company. They settled on Tualatin Plains. They were: William Craig, John Larison, Joseph L. Meek, Robert Newell,

C. M. Walker, and Caleb Wilkins. Osborn Russell probably came in 1842. They were all Americans and were brave, hardy and competent mountain men who were well styled "Independent Trappers." In the report of Gov. Joseph Lane "to the Secretary of War, or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," dated October 13, 1849, he said that Robert Newell, who had been appointed a sub-agent of Indian affairs, "is an old mountaineer having spent ten years in the mountains [from 1829 to 1839], where he followed trapping," and that "from 1839 to the present time [1849], he has resided within the district to which he is assigned to duty and has become well acquainted with the Indians in the valley of the Willamette."

In May, 1839, a party of fourteen persons left Peoria, Illinois, for Oregon. A few only of this party arrived and settled in Oregon in 1840. They were: Amos Cook, R. L. Kilbourne, Robert Shortess, and Sidney Smith, Americans, and Francis Fletcher and Joseph Holman, Englishmen. In 1839 there came John Edmund Pickernell, an English sailor, who went by the name of Edmunds.

Later in 1839, another party left Peoria for Oregon, which also did not arrive in Oregon as a party. One of this party was Robert Moore, who arrived in 1840 and took up a land claim on the west side of the Willamette Falls, opposite Oregon City. Others who settled in Oregon were Pleasant Armstrong, George Davis and Joel Walker. Rev. J. S. Griffin, Ashael Munger and their wives, independent missionaries, arrived in Oregon late in 1839. They wintered with the Presbyterian missionaries. In 1841 Griffin and wife settled on Tualatin Plains. Munger and wife came to Salem late in 1841. They were all Americans.

In 1840 there came another party of independent missionaries, all Americans. They were: Rev. Harvey Clark, Rev. P. B. Littlejohn, Alvin T. Smith, and their wives. They also settled on Tualatin Plains.

There were some other Oregon settlers who arrived in or prior to 1840. Some of these were: John Green, Felix Hathaway and Charles Watts, Americans. I am unable to give the

years in which they settled in Oregon. They were of the party of eight that built the vessel STAR OF OREGON in 1841. W. H. Gray in his History of Oregon, page 190, says that Felix Hathaway, who was a ship carpenter, was a survivor of the William and Ann, a vessel which was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1829. All other Oregon histories and accounts of the wreck say that no one survived the disaster.

George LeBreton, an American, who was chosen May 2, 1843, the Clerk or Recorder of the Supreme Court of the Provisional Government, came to Oregon, in 1840, on the Brig "Maryland," as supercargo, the brig being commanded by Captain John H. Couch. LeBreton made Oregon his home.

So far as I have been able to learn, only two white men settled in the Willamette Valley in 1841: William M. Doughty, a free trapper, an American, and Charles McKay, a Scotchman, but in 1841 a party consisting of twenty-three families being about sixty persons, all British subjects, and agriculturists from the Red River Settlement and Territory, some of whom were French-Canadians, arrived at Ft. Walla Walla, October 4 of that year, and a short time after, most of them settled on the Nisqually Plains on Puget Sound. Later, probably in 1842, most of them settled in the Willamette Valley (Lee and Frost's "Ten Years in Oregon," 216). One or two stayed on the Nisqually Plains. Two or three families settled on the Cowlitz River. This is the party, on whose supposed arrival in the fall of 1842, is largely based the Whitman Myth.

THE LAUSANNE PARTY.

In 1838 Rev. Jason Lee returned to the eastern states to obtain additions to the Oregon Methodist Mission. Even at that time, the Mission, as a mission, was a failure, for the reason that there were scarcely any Indians in the Willamette Valley to be converted. Nevertheless, he raised a large sum of money, and the ship Lausanne was chartered, which brought a number of missionaries and a large quantity of goods for a store and materials for the construction of grist and saw mills.

With the arrival of the Lausanne the Oregon Methodist Mission became in effect a Methodist colony. (Hines' "Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest," page 139). In this History Rev. H. K. Hines says, that after the arrival of the Lausanne party, often called the "great re-enforcement," the entire force attached to the Methodist missions was as follows:

"Ministers: Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, David Leslie, H. K. W. Perkins, G. Hines, A. F. Waller, J. L. Frost, W. W. Kone and J. P. Richmond. In the secular department, Dr. Elijah White, Ira L. Babcock, George Abernethy, H. B. Brewer, L. H. Judson, J. L. Parrish, James Olley, Hamilton Campbell, Alanson Beers, W. H. Willson and W. W. Raymond. Teachers: Miss Margaret Smith, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Almira Phillips, Miss Elmira Phelps, with Miss Orpha Lankton as stewardess. All of the ministers, and all in the secular departments, except W. H. Willson, had families. Together, they constituted a missionary force of forty-one adults, and in the several families there were not far from fifty children."

REASONS FOR FORMING A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

As I have said, there were no laws in Oregon which applied to American citizens, but the Hudson's Bay Company, through Dr. McLoughlin, exercised a commanding influence over the conduct of affairs. There were no lawsuits, for there were no courts and but little trouble between the American settlers, or between them and the Hudson's Bay Company's people, and other British subjects, although there was occasionally some small friction. The Indians in the Willamette Valley were a negligible quantity. The Methodist mission, by reason of its numbers, and having a store and mills, attempted to exercise control over public affairs, although not in an offensive way. These early American settlers in Oregon, and the British subjects, who affiliated with them, were not the kind of men to be forced to do anything by either the Hudson's Bay Company or the Methodist mission, or by anyone. The French-Canadian settlers were men, by nature, peaceable, and made no trouble. It was a peculiar, but pleasant, state of affairs, where men respected the rights of each other and there was no government.

To these settlers in the Willamette Valley the conditions must have seemed almost ideal. The French-Canadians had been in the wilderness for many years, where they had trapped, paddled the canoes for many a weary mile each year, and carried the heavy packages over many portages. They had been subject to discipline and to the exercise of authority by their superiors in the Hudson's Bay Company. They were old, or becoming so, from age, and by reason of hardships suffered. Their gentle dispositions caused them to take kindly to retirement and an easy way of living. Their Indian consorts were patient, obedient, and were constant workers. Their children were contented. They were under the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company and of Dr. John McLoughlin, whom to obey was a pleasurable duty. All their wheat was taken by the Company at a good and constant price. They purchased their goods at prices which gave the Company a very moderate profit. Their fields and their gardens supplied them in abundance. The streams were full of trout, and game, especially deer, was plentiful. They had priests of their religious faith. The Methodist missionaries did not try to proselyte them. Their only trouble was the knowledge that sooner or later death would come. They paid no taxes. They, their families, and their properties, were safe from assault or other dangers. The Indians were peaceable and not to be feared. They were not troubled by letters or newspapers. What more could they ask?

The other settlers were of a different mold and character. They were nearly all men of the frontier and of the mountains. Most of them were men who dared to do, and who had settled in the Willamette Valley, after years of hardships, privations, and daring. They had lived with and fought savage Indians, taking chances on their lives on many occasions. They were not accustomed to take orders from anyone unless they had agreed to his command, nor to fail in anything they undertook. They were accustomed to look danger straight in the eye, and not be afraid; to encounter hardships, and not to shirk; to hear the call of duty, and to perform it. They were

not afraid of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Dr. John McLoughlin was the friend and benefactor of each of them. To them the Missionaries were not rulers nor dangerous. They were merely harmless and amusing. To attempt to coerce these settlers would have been unwise. To interfere with their families, their rights, or their properties, would have been dangerous. And so they lived in an easy and careless fashion with their Indian wives and their half-breed children, without care and without need for laws, but always respectful of the rights of others. They, too, grew some wheat and vegetables, and hunted and fished, and occasionally did some trapping in an idle way for pleasure and profits, for Dr. McLoughlin took their surplus wheat and furs and sold them merchandise on the same basis he treated the French-Canadians. They had no more trouble than the latter, and took life nearly as easily. It was a pleasant way for trappers and frontiersmen to spend the time, especially after the days of declining years began.

It is one of the traditions or instincts of Americans to form temporary organizations where laws do not prevail. This was the case in Eastern Tennessee, where a provisional government was established in 1772, which was known as the "Wautauga Association," and the "State of Franklin" in 1784. It was done in the formation of mining districts in California before it became a State, and in early mining days of Oregon and Idaho.

March 16, 1838, a mass meeting of the American citizens was held in the Willamette Valley, and a memorandum drawn up and sent to Senator Linn, who presented it to the Senate January 28, 1839. It was signed by thirty-six settlers. After setting forth the fertility of the soil, and the commercial advantages of Oregon, the petition set forth:

"We have thus briefly shown that the security of our persons and our property, the hopes and destinies of our children are involved in the objects of our petitions."

This petition also set forth that there was no civil code in Oregon, and that the petitioners could "promise no protection but the ulterior resort of self-defense." It ended as follows:

"It is therefore of primary importance that the Government should take energetic measures to secure the execution of all

laws affecting Indian trade and the intercourse of white men and Indians."

In 1840 another petition was sent to Congress, setting forth the condition of affairs, and calling the attention of Congress to their condition as an infant colony, without military force and civil institutions to protect their lives and property and children. It ends as follows:

"We respectfully ask for the civil institutions of the American Republic. We pray for the high privilege of American citizenship, the peaceful enjoyment of life, the right of acquiring, possessing and using property, and the unrestrained pursuit of rational happiness."

Another petition to Congress, dated March 25, 1843, was signed by a number of settlers in the Willamette Valley. The prayer of the petition is as follows:

"And now your memorialists pray your honorable body, that immediate action of Congress be taken in regard to their country, and good and wholesome laws be enacted for our territory, as may, in your wisdom, be thought best for the good of the American citizens residing here."

Of course, Congress could take no action in this matter, particularly, for the reason that the convention for joint-occupancy was in force, and this convention, by its terms, could not be terminated without at least one year's notice from one country to the other. These petitions, however, show that as early as 1838, the idea of some form of government was in the minds of the American settlers in Oregon.

Ewing Young, in February, 1841, had become the most prosperous American settler in Oregon. He was a man of great force of character, who had lived in Mexico and California and on the American frontier for a number of years before coming to Oregon. He died on February 15, 1841, and was buried February 17, on which occasion many of the American settlers were present. It became known that he had left no will, and, so far as known, he had no heirs.

On February 15, a meeting was organized by electing Rev. Jason Lee chairman, but no record can be found of this meeting. February 17, another meeting was called, and Rev. Gus-

tavus Hines was chosen Secretary, and George LeBreton was added to the committee. It was decided that a committee of seven be elected for the purpose of drafting a constitution and code of laws for the government of the settlements, south of the Columbia River; and that all settlers, north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of the laws of this government on making application to that effect. There were then no American settlers north of the Columbia River, although there were a few Protestant Missionaries east of that river, and north of the present north line of the State of Oregon. It was also determined for the committee to propose the making of certain offices. (Oregon Archives, page 5). A meeting was held on February 18, at the Methodist Mission, and Rev. David Leslie was elected chairman and Sidney Smith and Gustavus Hines were chosen secretaries. The proceedings of the previous meeting were presented to the assembly and were accepted in part. It was determined that a committee be chosen for framing a constitution and drafting a code of laws and that the following persons compose the committee: Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. Gustavus Hines, J. L. Parrish, David Donpierre Charlevon, Robert Moore, Etienne Lucier, and William Johnson. Dr. Ira L. Babcock was appointed to fill the office of Supreme Judge with probate powers, and George LeBreton was chosen to fill the office of clerk of courts and public recorder. A sheriff was chosen as well as three constables. It was resolved that, until a code of laws be adopted by the community, Dr. Babcock be instructed to act according to the laws of the State of New York. It was further resolved to meet on the first Tuesday of June, 1841.

At the meeting on June 1, 1841, Rev. F. N. Blanchet requested to be excused from further serving on the committee to draft a constitution and code of laws. He was excused, and Dr. W. J. Bailey was chosen to fill the vacancy, and the committee was instructed to meet on the first Monday in August, 1841, and that they report to an adjourned meeting on the first Tuesday in October, 1841.

It was further resolved that this committee be instructed to confer with Commodore Wilkes, of the American squadron, and with Dr. John McLoughlin, with regard to framing a constitution and code of laws for the community. The committee was instructed to take into consideration certain other matters. So far as can be found, there was no meeting in October, and no further proceedings resulted from this preliminary organization.

In Commodore Wilkes' Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV, page 352, he said that a committee of five waited upon him to consult and ask his advice relative to the establishment of laws. He then said:

"After hearing attentively all their arguments and reasons for this change, I could see none sufficiently strong to induce the step. No crime appears yet to have been committed, and the persons and property of settlers are secure. Their principal reasons appear to me to be, that it would give them more importance in the eyes of others at a distance, and induce settlers to flock in, thereby raising the value of their farms and stock. I could not view this subject in such a light, and differed with them entirely as to the necessity or policy of adopting the change.

"1st. On account of their want of right, as those wishing for laws, were, in fact, a small minority of the settlers.

"2nd. That these were not yet necessary even by their own account.

"3rd. That any laws they might establish would be a poor substitute for the moral code they all now followed, and that evil-doers would not be disposed to settle near a community entirely opposed to their practices.

"4th. The great difficulty they would have in enforcing any laws, and defining the limits over which they had control, and the discord this might occasion in their small community.

"5th. They not being the majority, and the larger part of the population being Catholics, the latter would elect officers of their party, and they would thus place themselves entirely under the control of others.

"6th. The unfavorable impressions it would produce at home, from the belief that the missions had admitted that in a community brought together by themselves they had not enough of moral force to control it and prevent crime, and therefore must have recourse to a criminal code.

"From my own observation and the information I had obtained, I was well satisfied that laws were not needed, and were not desired by the Catholic portion of the settlers. I therefore could not avoid drawing their attention to the fact, that after all the various officers they proposed making were appointed, there would be no subjects for the law to deal with. I further advised them to wait until the Government of the United States should throw its mantle over them. These views, I was afterwards told, determined a postponement of their intentions."

Dr. McLoughlin, at first, was not in favor of establishing a government, unless it was absolutely an independent one and merely for mutual protection. The movement was controlled by men, some of whom he knew were unfriendly, if not openly opposed or hostile to him and to his Company. Among these were several Methodist Missionaries, with whom he had had trouble in relation to his land claim at Oregon City. He had reason to fear that his right to his land claim might be interfered with by such a government. That his fears in this respect were justified is shown by the land laws adopted by the Provisional Government, July 5, 1843. It was apparent that it was intended to make such a government in the interests of the United States, if not actually opposed or hostile to Great Britain and to the Hudson's Bay Company. If such were the case, he would be disloyal to the country, of which he was a subject, and false to his company, of which he was the head in all the Oregon Country. A resolution passed at the meeting of February, 1841, certainly sounded like hostility to his Company. It was that:

"All settlers north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws on making application to that effect."

POPULATION OF OREGON IN 1840 AND 1841.

It is interesting to take into account the number of people in Oregon in 1840 and 1841. In J. Quinn Thornton's "History of the Provisional Government of Oregon" (Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for the year 1875, pages 43-96), he says:

"In the autumn of 1840, there were in Oregon thirty-six American male settlers, twenty-five of whom had taken native

women for their wives. There were also thirty-three American women, thirty-two children, thirteen lay members of the Protestant Missions, thirteen Methodist ministers, six Congregational ministers, three Jesuit priests, and sixty Canadian-French, making an aggregate of one hundred and thirty-seven Americans, and sixty-three Canadian-French (including the priests in the latter class) having no connection as employés of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"I have said that the population outside of the Hudson's Bay Company increased slowly. How much so, will be seen by the fact that up to the beginning of the year 1842, there were in Oregon no more than twenty-one Protestant ministers, three Jesuit priests, fifteen lay members of Protestant churches, thirty-four white women, thirty-two white children, thirty-four American settlers, twenty-five of whom had native wives. The total American population will thus be seen to have been no more than one hundred and thirty-seven."

Rev. Gustavus Hines, in his "Missionary History of Oregon," says that in 1840 there were only nine Methodist ministers in the Oregon Mission. Some of the lay members, of which J. L. Parrish, the Mission blacksmith, was one, became ministers, which probably accounts for the difference in the estimates of Thornton and Hines as to the number of Methodist ministers.

In Gray's "History of Oregon," pages 185-192, he endeavors to give a list of the early settlers in Oregon, and says that he, at one time, made a list of names, but the list had been lost. He further says:

"It will be seen that we had in the country in the fall of 1840, thirty-six American settlers, twenty-five of them with native wives; thirty-three American women; thirty-two children, thirteen lay members of the Protestant Missions, nineteen ministers (thirteen Methodist, six Congregational), four physicians, three American and one English, three Jesuit priests, and sixty Canadian-French, making outside of the Hudson's Bay Company, one hundred and thirty-seven Americans and sixty-three Canadians, counting the three priests as Canadians."

This is one of the instances in which Gray's History agrees with other Oregon histories.

- DOCTOR ELIJAH WHITE AND THE IMMIGRATION OF 1842.

Dr. Elijah White first came to Oregon in 1837, as a Methodist missionary and physician to the Mission. He quarreled with Rev. Jason Lee and returned to the eastern states in 1841. Early in 1842, while in New York, he was appointed by the United States Government as "Sub-Indian Agent for Oregon," whatever that might mean. What right the government had to appoint such an officer in Oregon, where joint-occupancy was in force, has never been fully explained. What his duties were seem never to have been defined. He, therefore, conducted himself as he pleased. He was instructed to go to Oregon without delay, which he did. He proceeded to western Missouri and succeeded in getting together about 112 persons, of whom about 50 were men over 18 years of age. May 16, 1842, the party left Elm Grove, Missouri, for Oregon. This is what is known as the "Oregon Immigration of 1842." At Fort Laramie, Francois Xavier Matthieu and a few other French-Canadian trappers joined the immigration. Leaving their wagons at Fort Hall, they came to Oregon on horses and arrived at Oregon City early in October, 1842.

What Dr. White lacked in real authority he supplied by his imagination and ingenuity. His attempts to act as a quasi-ruler met with opposition and in some cases with resentment. He was in favor of a provisional government, provided he was chosen governor, and be, at the same time, "Sub-Indian Agent." He wished to be captain and also beat the drum. It was a case of ambition thwarted. He may have been wanting in some qualities, but he never was lacking in "nerve."

In 1842, A. E. Wilson, an American, came to Oregon as supercargo of the brig *Chenamus*, commanded by Capt. John H. Couch. Wilson remained in Oregon City in charge of a store, stocked with goods brought on the *Chenamus*, and owned by Cushing & Company of Newburyport, Massachusetts.

OPPOSITION TO A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

In the winter of 1842-43, the advocates of a provisional government continued to agitate it. There was a discussion of

the matter by the Oregon Lyceum or Falls Debating Society at Oregon City. After a long discussion, the following resolution was presented by George Abernethy, the Steward of the Methodist Mission, afterwards Governor of the Provisional Government:

"Resolved, That if the United States extends its jurisdiction over this country within the next four years, it will not be expedient to form an independent government."

For some reason or reasons Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernethy opposed the formation of the Provisional Government in 1843, although the former was chairman of the meeting held February 17, 1841, and he was one of the committee appointed at the meeting of February 18, 1841, to frame a constitution and to draft a code of laws. It is probable that, as leaders of the Mission Party, they feared that such a government would interfere with the power of the Mission and they preferred to let well enough alone. In Brown's Political History of Oregon, he says (page 96) that at a meeting of the Committee on Government, in March, 1843:

"Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernethy were disposed to ridicule the proposed organization as foolish and unnecessary, and repeated some anecdotes to illustrate their meaning."

Thornton, in his "History of the Provisional Government," says, that at said meeting of the Committee:

"Nearly all the principal men at the Falls, including the Rev. Jason Lee and Messrs. George Abernethy and Robert Moore, were present by invitation and they participated in the deliberations; most of them, especially Rev. Jason Lee and Hon. George Abernethy, going so far as to speak of the contemplated measure as both unnecessary in itself and unwise in the manner proposed."

But these ideas did not prevail with all of the Methodist Missionaries for several of them were at the meeting of May 2, 1843, and voted in favor of forming a provisional government.

On the one side against a provisional government, some educated man, one undoubtedly who wrote French, or some other foreign language better than English, but who did not disclose his name, prepared a paper signed by French-Canadians,

saying among other matters, that they did not wish a provisional mode of government. (Thornton's "History of the Provisional Government of Oregon," page 61.) This paper is not dated. It is entitled "An Address of the Canadian citizens of Oregon, to the meeting at Champoege, March 4, 1843." (Oregon Archives, pages 12 and 13.) The address indicates that a meeting was expected to be held at that time, but there is no record of such a meeting. It recites that the Canadian citizens of the Willamette "present to the American citizens, and particularly to the gentlemen who called said meeting," their views set forth in the address. The address also says "That we do not intend to rebel against the measures of that kind taken last year, by a party of the people." This can refer only to the meetings held in 1841. So the address must have been prepared some time in 1842.

Although there is some question as to the author of this document, it is commonly believed to have been written by Rev. F. N. Blanchet. Possibly it was written by Rev. Modeste Demers. Blanchet was a close friend of Dr. McLoughlin, who openly opposed the formation of such a government, and the French-Canadians, who approved every action of the latter, of course, would support his wishes in the matter.

On pages 349 and 350 of volume 4, Wilkes' Narrative, he says that in June, 1841, he visited the Catholic Mission about twelve miles from Champoege and talked with Rev. F. N. Blanchet (whom he calls "Bachelet") who was in charge. Wilkes says:

"He spoke to me much about the system of laws the majority of the settlers were desirous of establishing, but which he had objected to, and advised his people to refuse to co-operate in; for he was of the opinion that the number of settlers in the Willamette Valley would not warrant the establishment of a constitution, and, as far as his people were concerned, there was certainly no necessity for one, nor had he any knowledge of crime having been yet committed."

It fully appears that in 1843, prior, at least, to May 2, those particularly opposed to the formation of a provisional government were the Hudson's Bay Company, its officers, servants

and employés, and those who advocated its interests, including the French-Canadians, who then were or had been in its employ, the Catholic Missionaries, and some of the Methodist Missionaries. But such opposition did not deter the hardy and determined settlers who owed nothing to the company or to the missions.

W. H. Gray was actively in favor of such a government. He was always against "the existing order." But in this case he had other and better reasons, which prevailed. He was not opposed to the "order" which he established or assisted in establishing himself.

THE WOLF MEETING.

The fact that predatory animals had become destructive of domestic animals in the Willamette Valley, afforded a good excuse to call a meeting, ostensibly for the purpose of considering means to lessen the evil. It has been sometimes asserted that its originators feared to announce its main purpose. It was not fear—it was a discreet political move, if the reasons given were not exactly the real ones. But they were effective. After consulting together, a meeting was held by several American settlers, pursuant to notice, February 2, 1843, at the Oregon Institute, to take into consideration the propriety of adopting measures for the protection of domestic animals from wild ones. A committee of six was appointed to give notice of a meeting to be held the first Monday of March, 1843. This meeting of February 2, has ever since been called "The Wolf Meeting."

MEETING ON FIRST MONDAY OF MARCH, 1843.

On the first Monday in March, 1843, the meeting was held. James A. O'Neil, who was fully aware of the real, the main object of the meeting, was chosen chairman. The committee made its report and resolutions were adopted relative to paying bounties for the destruction of wolves and other dangerous wild animals. But the most important action was the last, immediately prior to adjournment, being the adoption of the following resolution:

"That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."

And a resolution was adopted that the said Committee consist of twelve persons, who were named in the resolution.

It will be seen that the true beginning of the Provisional Government of 1843, was at the Wolf Meeting, or the adjourned March meeting, and not May 2, 1843. The latter meeting merely authorized carrying the plan into execution. But each of these earlier meetings lacked the dramatic setting and action of the meeting of May 2. The intention to hold the May meeting provoked active opposition in addition to the opposition of Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernethy and others. Prior to the meeting of May 2, called by the Committee of Twelve, meetings were held by those opposed to the forming of a government, at Fort Vancouver, Oregon City, and French Prairie.

THE MEETING OF MAY 2, 1843.

It has been sometimes asserted that the meeting at Champeog May 2, 1843, was attended by all the male inhabitants of Oregon. This is a misstatement of fact. Excluding the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, employés and servants and all persons then living north and west of the Columbia River, and including men living south of the Columbia River and west of the Cascade Mountains, it seems to be unquestioned that there were then not less than 61 white men, other than French-Canadians, who were not connected in any way with the Hudson's Bay Company, and most of them American citizens, and not counting men of the immigration of 1842, who were then in the Willamette Valley. The exact number of these immigrants, then in Oregon, cannot be ascertained. A low estimate of the number of men would be 40. So, May 2, 1843, only 42 American citizens and 8 British subjects affiliating with them, out of about 100, were present at this meeting.

The estimate of the number of French-Canadians in the Willamette Valley made by J. Quinn Thornton, W. H. Gray and F. X. Matthieu, the latter of whom I personally interviewed last

week at his home in Portland, is, that besides Reverends F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers, there were at least 60 French-Canadian men who were settlers in the Willamette Valley, of which only 52 voted at this meeting.

Therefore, the total number of men who were then in Oregon south and east of the Columbia River, was about 160, of which 102 only were present at the meeting. These estimates may not be accurate, but they are approximately correct.

It must be borne in mind that the meetings of May 2 and July 5, 1843, were merely mass meetings, not called by any lawful authority, and certainly not binding on any one who did not participate in these meetings.

At a meeting of the Committee of Twelve, held at Oregon City about March 10, 1843, it was agreed to hold a public meeting at Champoege May 2, to determine the matter of the formation of a government. I have not ascertained the form of notice, but the time for the meeting was well known.

The meeting of May 2, 1843, was a most dramatic occasion. There were the 51 French-Canadian settlers, formerly in the active employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Among them was Etienne Lucier. There was also Francois Xavier Matthieu, who was counted as one of them, merely by reason of his race. He had escaped from Canada, in 1838, on account of his connection with the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38. He had spent the winter of 1842-3 with Lucier and had frequently told of what he considered the tyranny of the British in Canada, which had caused the rebellion. He had expatiated on the excellencies of the government of the United States and how much better to be under its control than under the domination, of what he considered the tyranny, of the British government. The facts about Matthieu in this address, I have learned from personal interviews with him, the last of which was only the week preceding this address.

The 51 French-Canadians had been carefully drilled to vote "no" on every question and motion proposed by the Americans at this meeting.

So far as I have been able to ascertain none of the Canadian immigrants of 1841 were present. On the other side there were 50 men, most of them American citizens—eight of them being British subjects who affiliated with the Americans. These eight were: Dr. J. W. Bailey, Francis Fletcher, George Gay, Joseph Holman, William Johnson, Charles McKay, John L. Morrison and John E. Pickernell (then known as Edmunds). As I have already said, they were resolute men, and it was not easy to prevent them from carrying out a purpose once determined on. Among them were such men as Joseph L. Meek, usually called "Joe" Meek, a man of courage and experience and a leader of men. There was William Cannon, who came with the Hunt party in 1812, and O'Neil, Hubbard, Hauxhurst, Johnson, and George Gay. I shall not further enumerate the names, as a list of them is hereinafter set forth. There were also present several of the immigrants of 1842.

Dr. Ira L. Babcock was chosen chairman and Messrs. Gray, LeBreton and Willson, secretaries. The main business was action on the report of the Committee of Twelve, which proposed a mode of provisional government and submitted a list of offices to be filled. The minutes of this meeting, which will be found on pages 14 and 15 of the Oregon Archives, are brief, but they set forth:

"The Committee made its report, which was read. And

"A motion was made that it be accepted, which was lost.

"Considerable confusion existing in consequence, it was moved by Mr. LeBreton, and seconded by Mr. Gray, that the meeting divide, preparatory to being counted; those in favor of the objects of this meeting taking the right, and those of a contrary mind taking the left, which being carried by acclamation, and a great majority being found in favor of organization, the greater part of the dissenters withdrew."

This is the official account. It is well known, however, that the motion was put in such a manner that all present, particularly the French-Canadians, did not know how to vote. After the *viva voce* vote there was long delay and great discussion, wrangling, and confusion. This vote apparently was opposed to accepting the report of the Committee. It looked as

though a Provisional Government would not be organized. The meeting began in the Hudson's Bay Company's warehouse, sometimes called "the granary." The room was crowded and all could not get in. During the discussion and confusion, the participants had moved to an open field near the granary, near the bank of the Willamette River. At last, the leaders of those in favor of the establishment of a Provisional Government believed it was safe to propose a division. A motion was made for a division and count. When the motion was made, "Joe Meek," with his commanding figure, clothed in a hunting costume of buckskin, and, with a voice of authority which was irresistible to those in favor of establishing the government, strode to the right and called out:

"Who's for a divide? All in favor of the report and organization, follow me!"

The fifty American and British in favor of the motion fell into line. Apparently, there were 52 Canadians against them, but among them was Matthieu, who stayed with them a short time and urged them to side with the Americans. All of them, but Lucier, refused. Matthieu crossed over to the American side and Lucier followed, and so the report of the Committee was adopted, 52 for and 50 against. Matthieu's conduct at this meeting, I have from his own lips.

The 50 French-Canadians withdrew and the meeting proceeded to fill the offices recommended by the Committee's report.

As the Committee of Twelve had not reported a constitution or a code of laws, it was resolved:

"That a committee of nine persons be chosen for the purpose of drafting a code of laws for the government of this community, to be presented at a public meeting, to be hereafter called by them on the 5th day of July next, for their acceptance."

Mr. George H. Himes, who has been a most efficient Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association continuously for more than twenty-five years, has given me a list, which he has prepared and verified during many years, of these fifty-two persons who voted in favor of the Provisional Govern-

ment at the meeting of May 2, giving their names, places of birth, years of birth, church preferences, and years of arrival in Oregon, and has arranged them in alphabetical order—not in the order in which they appear on the memorial monument at Champoege.

NAMES OF PERSONS WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT
CHAMPOEG, MAY 2, 1843.

Name.	Place of Birth.	Born.	Church Preference.	Arrived in Oregon
Armstrong, Pleasant M.	New York.	1815.	Presbyterian	1840
Babcock, Dr. I. L.	New York.	.....	Methodist	1840
Bailey, Dr. W. J.	Ireland.	1805.	Episcopalian	1835
Beers, Alanson	Connecticut.	1800.	Methodist	1837
Bridges, J. C. ....	.....	.....	Unknown	.....
Burns, Hugh .....	.....	.....	Presbyterian	1842
Campo, Charles .....	.....	.....	Unknown	.....
Cannon, William	Pennsylvania.	1755.	Unknown	1812
Clark, Rev. Harvey	Vermont.	1807.	Congregationalist.	1840
Crawford, Medorem	New York.	1819.	No choice	1842
Cook, Amos	Maine.	1818.	Methodist	1840
Davie, Allen J.	Alabama.	1816.	Baptist	1842
Doughty, William M.	North Carolina.	1812.	No choice	1841
Ebberts, George W.	Kentucky.	1810.	Baptist	1833
Fletcher, Francis	England.	1815.	Episcopalian	1840
Gay, George	England.	1810.	Episcopalian	1835
Gale, Joseph	District of Columbia.	1800.	Episcopalian	1834
Gray, William H.	New York.	1810.	Presbyterian	1836
Griffin, Rev. John S.	Vermont.	1807.	Congregationalist.	1839
Hauxhurst, Webley	New York.	1809.	Methodist	1834
Hill, David	Connecticut.	1809.	Congregationalist.	1842
Howard, John .....	.....	.....	Presbyterian	.....
Holman, Joseph	England.	1815.	Methodist	1840
Hines, Rev. Gustavus	New York.	1809.	Methodist	1840
Hubbard, T. J.	Massachusetts.	1806.	Unknown	1834
Johnson, William	England.	1784.	Episcopalian	1835
Judson, Rev. L. H.	Connecticut.	1802.	Methodist	1840
Le Breton, Geo. W.	Massachusetts.	1810.	Catholic	1840
Leslie, Rev. David	New Hampshire.	1797.	Methodist	1837
Lewis, Reuben	New York.	1814.	Presbyterian	1842
Lucier, Etienne	Canada.	1783.	Catholic	1812
Matthieu, Francois X.	Canada.	1818.	Catholic	1842
Meek, Joseph L.	Virginia.	1810.	Methodist	1829
McCarty, William .....	.....	.....	Catholic	1834
McKay, Charles	At sea (Scotch).	1808.	Presbyterian	1841
Moore, Robert	Pennsylvania.	1781.	Presbyterian	1840
Morrison, John L.	Scotland.	1793.	Presbyterian	1842

Newell, Dr. Robert	Ohio..1804..	Episcopalian	1840
O'Neil, James A.	New York.....	Methodist	1834
Parrish, Rev. J. L.	New York..1806..	Methodist	1840
Pickernell, John E.	England.....	Episcopalian	1839
Robb, James R.	Pennsylvania..1816..	Methodist	1842
Russell, Osborn	Ohio..1809..	Unknown	1842
Shortess, Robert	Pennsylvania..1804..	Methodist	1840
Smith, Alvin T.	Connecticut..1802..	Congregationalist	1840
Smith, Sidney	New York..1809..	Unknown	1839
Smith, Solomon H.	New Hampshire..1809..	Congregationalist	1832
Tibbetts, Calvin	Massachusetts.....	Congregationalist	1832
Weston, David	Indiana..1820..	Unknown	1842
Wilkins, Caleb	Ohio..1810..	Baptist	1835
Wilson, A. E.	Massachusetts.....	Unknown	1842
Willson, Dr. W. H.	New Hampshire..1805..	Methodist	1837

STATES OR COUNTRIES REPRESENTED.

Alabama	1	Kentucky	1	Pennsylvania	4
Canada	2	Maine	1	Vermont	2
Connecticut	4	Massachusetts	4	Virginia	1
Dist. of Columbia	1	New Hampshire	3	Scotland	2
England	5	New York	10	Unspecified	5
Indiana	1	North Carolina	1		—
Ireland	1	Ohio	3	Total	52

Church preference: Baptists, 3; Catholics, 4; Congregationalists, 6; Episcopalians, 7; Methodists, 14; Presbyterians, 8; unknown, 10; total, 52.

Mr. Himes has also furnished me with the following list of those who voted against the organization of the Provisional Government. Mr. Himes has been engaged in collecting these names through a series of years:

FRENCH-CANADIAN SETTLERS WHO VOTED AGAINST THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AT CHAMPOEG, MAY 2, 1843.

Aubichon, Alexis	Brischois, Alexis
Aubichon, Jean B.	Brischois, Olivier
Ausant, Louis	Brunelle, Joseph
Arquoit, Amable	Chalifoux, Andre
Bargeau, Cyfois	Chamberlain, Adolph
Beleque, Pierre	Cornoyer, Joseph
Biscornais, Pascal	Delard, Joseph
Boivers, Louis	Depot, Pierre
Bonnenfant, Antoine	Despart, Joseph

Donpierre, David	Lambert, Augustin
Dubois, Andre	LaPrate, Alexis
Ducharme, Jean B.	Longtain, Andre
Felice, Antoine	Lor, Moyse
Forcier, Louis	Matte, Joseph
Gagnon, Luc	Maloin, Fabien
Gauthier, Pierre	Mongrain, David
Gervais, Joseph	Papin, Pierre
Gingras, Jean	Pariseau, Pierre
Gregoire, Etienne	Remon, Augustin
LaChapelle, Andre	Roi, Thomas
LaBonté, Louis	Rondeau, Charles
Laderout, Xavier	Sanders, Andre
Laferty, Michel	Senecalle, Gideon
LaFramboise, Michel	Servant, Jacques
Lalcoure, Jean B.	Van Dalle, Louis B.

It is but fair to state that some of these French-Canadians took part in the actual formation of the first Provisional Government, July 5, 1843, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, all of them supported the first Provisional Government when it became established, and some of them made contributions for its support. After the organization of the Territorial Government of Oregon, most of them, if not all of them, became naturalized citizens of the United States. It would be as unfair to say that they were not sincere in opposing the formation of a provisional government, as it would be to say that those who voted in favor of its organization were not acting from proper motives. They were subjects of Great Britain and were as much entitled to their views as were the fifty-two persons who voted in favor of the organization of the government. Revs. F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers had a right to oppose the formation of a provisional government as well as Rev. Jason Lee and George Abernethy, and as well as Revs. Harvey Clark and Gustavus Hines had to favor it.

Great credit should be given to Etienne Lucier for voting in favor of a provisional government. Without his vote there would have been a tie and the authorization of a provisional government would have been postponed. He came to Oregon

with the Hunt party, arriving in Oregon in 1812. When Duncan McDougal sold out Astor's Fur Company, i. e. The Pacific Fur Company, to the Northwest Company, Lucier, with nearly all of the Pacific Fur Company's employés, entered the service of the Northwest Company. He was with the latter company when it coalesced with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He was in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company when Dr. McLoughlin took charge in Oregon in 1824. Until 1827 or 1828 he continued in that employ. He was the first settler in the Willamette Valley, and settled on French Prairie in 1827 (as stated by Willard H. Rees in his address before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1879). He was induced to settle there by Dr. McLoughlin and his name kept on the company's books. Dr. McLoughlin bought Lucier's wheat, furnished him with supplies at a low cost, and protected him. He regarded Dr. McLoughlin with great veneration and affection, and wished to do whatever the latter asked of him. He knew that he was expected to vote with the other French-Canadians against the formation of a government. His priest also expected the same of Lucier. In voting with the Americans he was opposing his old neighbors, his friends, who were of the same country, race, and religion. It required great moral courage and fortitude to vote as he did. He has not always been given the credit he deserves in this matter. All honor to him for doing as he did, and yet, it is questionable whether he would have so voted had Matthieu not led the way.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF 1843.

The Provisional Government, as formed July 5, 1843, was very crude and unsatisfactory. There was no power to levy taxes, so it had to be supported by individual subscriptions. There was no provision for the amendment of its organic act or laws. It was impossible to distinguish between what was constitution and what were laws. Through jealousy, there was no governor selected. The head of the government was an executive committee of three, a kind of commission form of executive. The government was lacking in many respects, but

in a somewhat crude way, it stood for law and order and the protection of life, liberty, and property. The legislative powers were exercised by a committee of nine persons.

There is a glamour of romance about its formation and particularly by reason of the closeness of the vote at the meeting of May 2. Had more of the American settlers been present, the result would have been considered as a matter of course, as were the previous meetings and the meeting of July 5, when the original Provisional Government went into force. Had the report of the Committee of Nine been rejected July 5, that would have ended the matter, for the time being, as was the case with the proceedings of 1841. Had the ten or more French-Canadians who did not attend the meeting of May 2, been present, and by their votes defeated the report of the Committee of Nine to establish a provisional government at that time, that also would have ended the matter, probably until the arrival of the immigration of 1843.

IMMIGRATION OF 1843.

The immigration of 1843, the most important in the results of its coming of all the Oregon immigrations, was making preparations to leave for Oregon May 2, 1843. It left Independence, Missouri, May 20, 1843. It reached Oregon in the fall of that year. It was composed of about 875 persons. Of these, 295 were men over the age of 16 years. It was the first important immigration to Oregon of homebuilders. They came together in Missouri by a common impulse and without preconcert. They started without organization or leaders. They refused to accept the advice to leave their wagons at Fort Hall, and determined to take them as far as they could and brought them overland to The Dalles. They were mostly strong, forcible, and determined men and women. They did not think of failure. Their main thought was that they would go to Oregon and make it their home and assist in making it an American community. There were in this immigration men of ability and leadership, such as Jesse Applegate and Peter H. Burnett, who were learned in the law and in history. Such

men at once became prominent in Oregon affairs. I cannot go into details in this address. Had the meeting of May 2, 1843, been unsuccessful, it cannot be doubted that a provisional government would have been established in 1844. In the latter year the immigrants of 1843 took charge of the Provisional Government and gave it form and substance.

But let us also give honor and credit where honor and credit are due. Because the immigration of 1843 was so large in numbers and would have established a provisional government after its arrival, does not detract from what the settlers of Oregon did in May and July, 1843. They did not know there was to be such an immigration in 1843, which did not leave Missouri until eighteen days after the meeting of May 2. They acted upon the exigency of the times as they saw it. They made possible the true Provisional Government of 1845, and of the succeeding years, until Oregon became a territory. All honor and praise to them for their foresight and courage; for their Americanism and their adherence to Anglo-Saxon traditions and instincts; for their love, and their regard for law, the rights of life and liberty, and of the pursuit of happiness. What they did is a heritage of which their descendants should ever be proud.

It was as much from sentiment as from expediency that the original Provisional Government was established. Possibly it was more by reason of sentiment than of expediency. But that does not lessen our regard and appreciation of what was done. The sentiment came from high and patriotic motives. It was undoubtedly a moving cause to assert and to establish that Oregon belonged to the United States. This was a greater reason than the mere establishment of a provisional government for the small number of people then in the Oregon Country. The report of the Legislative Committee was for the adoption of "laws and regulations, until the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us."

FRANCOIS XAVIER MATTHIEU.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome today Francois Xavier Matthieu, the last survivor of the meeting of May 2, 1843, who

is here present, and who has just passed his ninety-fourth birthday. I congratulate him on his good physical and mental condition, with an unimpaired memory, his modesty, his simplicity, his mental, as well as moral, honesty. These are only some of the qualities which endear him to all true Oregonians. The noble and efficient part he took at the meeting of May 2, 1843, will never be forgotten. Already it is established in history and in the traditions of Oregon. Long may his life be and, as long as he lives, he will have Oregon's heartfelt esteem and affection. And when he passes away, his memory will be cherished as long as the Oregon pioneers and what they did are known.

THE MEETING OF MAY 2, 1843, DID NOT "SAVE" OREGON.

There are some persons who believe that the meeting of May 2, 1843, saved Oregon to the United States, but this is not the fact. Such a belief comes from ignorance. It may be creditable to their enthusiasm, but not to their knowledge of Oregon history. What is now the State of Oregon did not need savers—it was not in peril. The American people would not have submitted to its loss. The next year, 1844, James K. Polk was elected President of the United States, largely on the popular cry of "54-40 or fight." This belief must take its place in the realm of myths in which those of fairies, of ghosts, of Santa Claus, and of "Whitman Saved Oregon" are taking their eternal rests. In 1843, and until June 15, 1846, there was joint-occupancy in all of the Oregon Country which could not be terminated except by the United States or Great Britain giving one year's notice to the other of such termination. For Congress and the President to exercise or attempt to exercise control over any part of the Oregon Country would have been an unwarrantable violation of a treaty, a breach of faith, and tantamount to a declaration of war against Great Britain. What Congress and the President could not do could not be done by the resolutions of a mass meeting, carried by forty-two American citizens and ten British subjects.

I have not found a copy of the report of the Committee of Nine which was adopted May 2, but the report of the Legislative Committee which was adopted July 5, 1843, began as follows:

"Sec. 1. We, the people of Oregon Territory, for the purposes of mutual protection and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." (Oregon Archives, page 28.)

This is identical with the preamble of the organic law adopted by a vote of the Oregon people July 26, 1845. It is, inferentially only, a declaration in favor of the United States ever having control of Oregon. There was no mention of the rights of Great Britain. The oath of office of the Provisional Government of 1843 was not one of subordination to the United States. It was rather a declaration that Oregon and its Provisional Government were independent of any other country. The oath of office under the Organic Law of 1845 was that of a provisional government only, and, inferentially, recognized that Great Britain as well as the United States had some claim or right in Oregon, at least that citizens of the United States and subjects of Great Britain, in holding office under the Provisional Government, and in taking the oath of office, were in nowise disloyal to their country or to its sovereign. This was very far from the Provisional Government being for the purpose of giving the United States the control of Oregon, excluding Great Britain therefrom, and saving Oregon from British claims and establishing the claims of the United States. Had the meeting of May 2 declared for the sovereignty of Great Britain, that would not have established it or changed the status under the convention of joint-occupancy.

As early as 1825 Great Britain was willing to concede to the United States all of the Oregon Country south of the Columbia River and south of latitude forty-nine, east of that river.

In a document found among the private papers of Dr. John McLoughlin, after his death, in his handwriting, a full copy

of which is printed in the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880, he said, in reference to his advice to the French-Canadians, old employés, settling in the Willamette Valley:

"Many of the Canadians objected to go to the Willamette [Valley] because it would become American Territory, which I told them it would be as the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1825, officially informed me that, on no event, could the British Government claim extend south of the Columbia."

So, unless there was a war over the Oregon question in which Great Britain would be successful, there was no chance or danger that the part of Oregon over which the original Provisional Government assumed to exercise control would belong to Great Britain or required saving to the United States.

While this may not have been known to any of the fifty-two persons who voted for a provisional government, May 2, 1843, it does not change the fact. One can not find what is not lost, nor save that which is not in peril.

I do not wish to belittle what these fifty-two persons did on that second day of May. I do not seek to detract from the praise and honor to which they are entitled. As a grandson of an Oregon pioneer of 1843, and the son of two Oregon pioneers of 1846, I take pride in the action, on that memorable day, of these fifty-two and in the formation and perpetuation of the Oregon Provisional Government. It is no small thing that the Oregon pioneers were able and willing to establish and to maintain a government for their own protection and regulation without aid, support, or encouragement from the United States Government. But I wish, and you should wish, to know the facts, and knowing the facts, to take pride in them and discard what is merely fiction. There is enough in the establishment and maintenance of the Provisional Government for all Oregonians to be proud of.

History should deal in facts. Let us, while we may, establish Oregon History on a proper and accurate basis. The facts of history outweigh, more than a thousand fold, the romances of unreality.

After the establishment of the government of 1843, Dr. McLoughlin continued his beneficent rule north of the Columbia River, and over the forts and posts of his Company, north, east and south of the Columbia River. And, while the Methodist Missionaries tried to be assertive and active in the Willamette Valley, they were largely innoxious as rulers after the arrival of the immigration of 1843.

LAND LAWS OF THE ORIGINAL PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

When the leaders of the Methodist Mission found that a provisional government was to be established, they sought to make it serve the purposes of the Mission party. As they found they could not prevent it, they sought to control it. In this they succeeded temporarily, to a large extent.

Article 4 of the Law of Land Claims, adopted by the meeting of July 5, 1843, was in the interests of the Mission and was not altogether creditable. This law, after providing that an individual might hold a claim of not more than 640 acres in a square or oblong form, provided as follows:

"No person shall be entitled to hold such a claim upon city or town sites, extensive water privileges, or other situations necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations, and to the detriment of the community. Provided, that nothing in these laws shall be so construed as to affect any claim of any mission of a religious character, made previous to this time, of an extent not more than six miles square."

The first clause of this Article 4 was intended to deprive Dr. McLoughlin of his land claim at Oregon City, which some of the Methodist missionaries had been endeavoring to take from him in ways not creditable to their religious pretensions. The last clause became very unpopular with new settlers. It was true that it applied to the Catholic as well as to the Methodist Mission, but to allow a Mission to hold an entire township, i. e., 23,040 acres, in one body, in the fertile Willamette Valley, was an audacious attempt, to put it not stronger. The immigrants of 1843 and 1844 would not submit to such outrageous provisions as contained in said Article 4 of the land laws.

As I have said, most of the men of the immigration of 1843 were strong, resolute, and determined men. Some of the organic laws of the Provisional Government of 1843 did not suit their ideas of fairness. Article 4 of the law of land claims was not their only objection to the so-called Organic Laws of 1843. Many of them did not like the attempted domination of affairs by the Methodist Mission. They found the original Provisional Government to be little more than a government in name, lacking power, crude, and inefficient. No power being given to levy taxes, it could be ended, at any time, by lack of funds which came from subscriptions only.

Prior to the meeting of the newly elected Legislative Committee, June 18, 1844, there appears to have been no meeting of the Legislative Committee, after the public meeting held July 5, 1843, when the original Provisional Government was formed.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN 1844.

An election was held the second Tuesday of May, 1844, at which a new Executive Committee and Legislative Committee were chosen. It is significant that only one member of the Provisional Government of 1843 was chosen, viz.: David Hill, he being re-elected as a member of the Legislative Committee. No member of the Methodist Mission was elected. The names of those elected and the year of arrival in Oregon are as follows:

Executive Committee: Dr. W. J. Bailey, 1835; Osborn Russell, 1842, and Peter G. Stewart, 1843. Legislative Committee: Peter H. Burnett, 1843; David Hill, 1842; Matthew C. Gilmore, (?); T. D. Keizur, 1843; A. L. Lovejoy, 1842 and 1843; M. M. McCarver, 1843; Robert Newell, 1840; Daniel Waldo, 1843. For some reason Yamhill District was not representative at either of the two sessions of the Legislative Committee in 1844, although that district or county was entitled to one member. Why this occurred or whether there was a failure to elect I have been unable to ascertain.

Peter H. Burnett was a lawyer of ability and, on his arrival in Oregon, became a leader in Oregon's affairs. He was

afterwards Supreme Judge of the Provisional Government and the first Governor of the State of California. In his book "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer" he sets forth many of the defects in the original organic laws of 1843. The Legislative Committee of 1844 determined that none of these organic laws were a part of a constitution, but were all statutes and could be amended or repealed. They proceeded on this theory. The land law of 1843 was repealed and another enacted which did away with the grant of six miles square to missions and with the unfair attempt to rob Dr. McLoughlin of his land claim at Oregon City. This amended land law confirmed the right of all persons who had theretofore made, and granted to all who should thereafter make, with a bona fide intention of occupying and holding the same for himself, 640 acres; and provided that all claims thereafter made should be "in a square form, if the nature of the ground should permit; and in case the situation will not permit, shall be in an oblong form;" and that "in all cases where claims are already made, and in all cases where there are agreed lines between the parties occupying adjoining tracts, such claims shall be valid to the extent of six hundred and forty acres, although not in a square or oblong form." (Laws of Oregon, 1843-9, page 77.)

An Act was passed for the collection of taxes. The number of the Legislative Committee was increased from nine to thirteen. June 27, 1844, an Act was passed that at the next annual election one person should be elected as the executive or governor, in whom should be vested all executive powers, in place of the Executive Committee of three (Laws of Oregon 1843-9, page 98). A commission form of executive had been found unsatisfactory.

June 18, 1844, the Executive Committee sent its message to the Legislative Committee in which it was said:

"In view of the present state of affairs, gentlemen of the Assembly, we would recommend to your consideration the adoption of some measures for a more thorough organization."

In this message the Executive Committee also recommended vesting the executive power in one person.

When the Legislative Committee met, at an adjourned session December 16, 1844, the Executive Committee sent an-

other message in which it was said of the claims of the United States and of Great Britain to the Oregon country:

"But one claims as much right as the other, and both claim the right of joint occupancy of the whole, without prejudice to the claims of any other state or power to any part of said country."

* * * * *

"We would advise that provision be made by this body for the framing and adoption of a constitution for Oregon, previous to the next annual election, which may serve as a more thorough guide to her officers, and a more firm basis of her laws. It should be constructed in such a manner as would best suit the local situation of the country, and promote the general interests of the citizens, without interfering with the real or pretended rights of the United States or Great Britain; except when the protection of life and property actually require it." (Oregon Archives, page 57.)

In conclusion, the message set forth:

"As descendants of the United States and of Great Britain, we should honor and respect the countries which gave us birth; and, as citizens of Oregon, we should, by a uniform course of proceeding, and a strict observance of the rules of justice, equity, and republican principles, without party distinction, use our best endeavors to cultivate the kind feeling, not only of our native countries, but of all the powers or states with whom we may have intercourse." (Oregon Archives, pages 58-59).

THE ORGANIC LAW OF 1845.

Another election was held in May, 1845, and the newly elected Legislative Committee met June 24, 1845. Jesse Applegate, an immigrant of 1843, became its leader.

Article 3 of the report of the Legislative Committee upon the Judiciary, adopted July 5, 1843, is as follows:

"Art. 3. Each officer heretofore elected, or hereafter to be elected, shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, take an oath or affirmation, to support the laws of the territory, and faithfully to discharge the duties of his office." (Oregon Archives, page 29).

Notwithstanding this provision of the original provisional government, when the Legislative Committee met June 24, 1845, it appears from the record as follows:

"On motion of Mr. Applegate,

"The following oath was administered to the members, to-wit:

" 'I do solemnly swear that I will support the Organic Laws of the Provisional Government of Oregon, so far as the said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and faithfully demean myself in office, so help me God.' " (Oregon Archives, page 71).

This oath was not authorized, and was in contravention of said Article 3 of the report of the Legislative Committee upon the Judiciary, July 5, 1843.

The oath administered to the members of the Legislative Committee June 24, 1845, was adopted as the oath of all officers under the Organic Laws, adopted by the people July 26, 1845. (See Section 9 of Organic Laws of 1845). The change in this form of oath became very important when the Hudson's Bay Company, its officers and employés, became a part of the Provisional Government in August, 1845. Without such change, it is altogether likely that this company and its officers and employés would not have become a part of the Provisional Government.

This latter form of oath was a distinct recognition of the rights of British subjects who were willing to become members of the Provisional Government. If the Provisional Government was originally in favor of the United States alone, by this oath it was changed so that it was without prejudice to the rights of Great Britain and its subjects as well as to those of the United States and its citizens. It was an oath suitable and proper for a temporary or provisional government, until joint-occupancy should end and the laws of either country be in force.

To show that this was the understanding, early in the session of this first meeting of the Legislative Committee, which began June 24, 1845, a committee of five was appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress. In this memorial, after setting forth dangers from the Indians, it is said:

"To prevent a calamity so much to be dreaded, the well-disposed inhabitants of this territory have found it absolutely necessary to establish a provisional and temporary government, embracing all free male citizens, and whose executive, legislative, and judicial powers should be equal to all the exigencies that may arise among themselves, not provided for by the governments to which they owe allegiance; and we are most happy to inform your honorable body, that, with but few individual exceptions, the utmost harmony and good-will has been the result of this, as we conceive, wise and judicious measure; and the British subjects and American citizens vie with each other in their obedience and respect to the laws, and in promoting the common good and general welfare of Oregon.

"Although such has been the result, thus far, of our temporary union of interests, though we, the citizens of the United States, have had no cause to complain, either of exaction or oppression at the hands of the subjects of Great Britain, but on the contrary it is but just to say that their conduct toward us has been most friendly, liberal, and philanthropic, yet we fear a longer continuance of the present state of things is not to be expected—our temporary government being limited in its efficiency, and crippled in its powers by the paramount duty we owe to our respective governments,—our revenue being inadequate to its support—and the almost total absence, apart from the Hudson's Bay Company, of the means of defence against the Indians, which recent occurrences led us to fear entertain hostile feelings towards the citizens of the United States."

After setting forth protection given to British subjects by the Hudson's Bay Company and by the Act of Parliament of July, 1821, which I have already mentioned, this Memorial prays Congress to establish a territorial government to embrace Oregon and its adjacent sea-coasts. It further sets forth:

"And we pray that in the event you deem it inexpedient as a measure, or contrary to the spirit of existing treaties, to establish a territorial government in Oregon, that you extend to us adequate military and naval protection, so as to place us, at least, upon a par with other occupants of the country."

This Memorial was passed June 27, 1845 (Oregon Archives, page 79). A copy, dated June 28, 1845, was signed by two members of the Executive Committee, by eleven members of the Legislative Committee, by J. W. Nesmith as Judge of the Circuit Court, and attested by J. E. Long the Clerk. It was

presented to Congress and ordered printed. (Brown's Political History of Oregon, pages 160-162).

This Legislative Committee of 1845 proceeded to draft a new Organic Law and submit it to the people, i. e., the people of the Willamette Valley. It was adopted by vote of the people July 26, 1845, and Oregon then had a true provisional government. Its new Organic Law was practically a constitution, and it had a Governor instead of an Executive Committee.

The effect of the adoption by the people of this Organic Law was later said by Jesse Applegate to be that "both the Methodist Mission and the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to be political powers either to be courted or feared in the colony, and to the close of its existence the Provisional Government of Oregon attained all the ends of good Government." (Bancroft's History of Oregon, Vol. 1, page 479).

The Preamble and Enacting Clauses of the Organic Law of the Provisional Government of Oregon, adopted by vote of the people July 26, 1845, are as follows:

"We, the people of Oregon territory, for purposes of mutual protection, and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us:

"BE IT ENACTED, THEREFORE, BY THE FREE CITIZENS OF OREGON TERRITORY, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be divided into not less than three nor more than five districts, subject to be extended to a greater number when an increase of population shall require.

"For the purpose of fixing the principles of civil and religious liberty, as the basis of all laws and constitutions of government, that may hereafter be adopted,

"BE IT ENACTED—That the following articles be considered articles of compact among the free citizens of this territory."

In the Organic Laws of 1843, the boundaries of Oregon were not set forth. Four districts or counties were created. The two northern districts were Twality and Clackamas. Twality District was declared to comprise:

"All the country south of the northern boundary line of the United States, west of the Willamette or Multnomah River, north of the Yamhill River and east of the Pacific Ocean."

Clackamas District was not described by boundaries. It was declared to comprehend "all the territory not included in the other three districts."

June 27, 1844, the Legislative Committee passed an Act:

"That all those parts of any counties heretofore organized which lie north of the Columbia River be and they are hereby stricken off respectively, and that the said river shall constitute the northern boundary of said counties, respectively." (General and Special Laws of 1843-9, page 74).

As there were no counties north of the Columbia River this was practically an abandonment of jurisdiction north of that river, if the original Provisional Government ever had jurisdiction north of that river. In fact, in 1843, there was no attempt even to assert jurisdiction north of the Columbia River. There was then, at least, a tacit understanding that north of that river the Hudson's Bay Company controlled the country and that the Provisional Government had control only south of that river and west of the Cascade Mountains.

December 24, 1844, an Act was passed "explanatory" of said Act of June 27, 1844. This latter Act defined the boundaries of "Oregon" and made the northern boundary line "the parallel of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude." The eastern boundary was made "along the main dividing ridge of the Rocky Mountains," latitude forty-two was made the southern boundary, and the Pacific Ocean, the western boundary (General and Special Laws of 1843-9, page 72). But no county was then created, north of the Columbia, so that north of that river Oregon had a boundary but it was without the control of the Provisional Government. It was merely a declaration of boundaries, not an assumption of jurisdiction north of the Columbia River.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The number of the officers, employés and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Oregon Country was several

hundred. There were the sixty persons, British subjects, composing the immigration of 1841 from Canada, who first settled on Nisqually Plains, none of whom took part in the meeting of May 2, 1843.

The American Missionaries living at Wailatpu and Tshimakain, now in the State of Washington, and at Lapwai, now in the State of Idaho were the only American citizens living in the part of the Oregon Country controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. They took no part in the Provisional Government. If the Provisional Government extended east of the Columbia River and of the Cascade Mountains, there were some white trappers, few in number, who had their habitats there but took no part in the Provisional Government. The Hudson's Bay Company had several of its twenty-one forts or posts east of the Columbia River, including Fort Hall, Fort Boise and Fort Walla Walla. There were also Fort Umpqua, on the Umpqua River, and a post at what is now Astoria.

It will, therefore, be seen that up to July 26, 1845, the Provisional Government had no practical jurisdiction, excepting in parts of the Willamette Valley if it can be said to have had jurisdiction at all or more than mere existence. It was a government in name rather than of power or of authority. As was said by Frances Fuller Victor, in Bancroft's History of Oregon, referring to the formation of the original Provisional Government "after all, there appeared to be no great need of law in Oregon." (Bancroft's History of Oregon, Vol. I., page 444).

While there was undoubtedly a strong feeling by a few Americans of forming a provisional government in favor of the United States, that was merely incidental to the main object of having some kind of an organization for mutual protection and benefit. So far as the records show there was no direct or practical attempt to make that organization more than a local provisional or temporary government.

The adoption of the Organic Law July 26, 1845, and the discussion of the new Legislature about exercising jurisdiction

north of the Columbia River, brought matters to a condition that was liable to create friction, if not serious trouble, between the Provisional Government and the Hudson's Bay Company.

If the Provisional Government should attempt to control the Hudson's Bay Company and to collect taxes on its property, without its consent, a very serious condition would have ensued which might have resulted in a conflict of arms. The Act of the Provisional Government of December, 1844, declaring the northern boundary line of Oregon to be latitude 54 degrees and 40 minutes, was an echo of the popular cry of "54-40 or fight" which had elected James K. Polk as President of the United States in 1844.

As I have said, the immigration of 1843 comprised about 875 persons. The immigration of 1844, which arrived in the fall of that year, had about 1400 persons. It was known in Oregon in the summer of 1845, that the immigration of 1845 which would arrive in the fall of that year would be a large one. It was made up of about 3000 persons. Joseph L. Meek, as Sheriff, in the spring of 1845 took a census. Practically it was of the residents of the Willamette Valley at the end of the year 1844. It showed a population of 2110 of whom 1259 were males and 851 females. (Vol. 1, page 267, Elwood Evans' "History of the Pacific Northwest").

It was at this critical time and shortly after the adoption of the new Organic Law by vote of the people July 26, 1845, that Jesse Applegate privately interviewed Dr. John McLoughlin as to the desirability, if not the necessity, of the Hudson's Bay Company and its officers and employes uniting with the American citizens in the Provisional Government. Dr. McLoughlin at first objected. Applegate then urged on Dr. McLoughlin the security it would be to his company, and how it would be for the maintenance of peace and order if British subjects and American citizens were united in Oregon in a provisional government, which would not conflict with their duties and rights to their respective governments. The result was that Dr. McLoughlin consented, but on the condition that his company should not be compelled to pay taxes on its goods

except upon those sold to settlers, and he and James Douglas, his chief assistant, consented to receive a formal proposition from a Committee of the Provisional Legislature. (Vol. 1, pages 494 and 495 Bancroft's "History of Oregon"; Vol. 1, pages 268 and 269, Elwood Evans' "History of the Pacific Northwest.")

At a meeting of the Legislative Committee (changed by the new Organic Law to the Legislature) on August 14, 1845, Jesse Applegate discreetly introduced the following resolutions which were adopted by unanimous vote:

"Resolved—that, whereas the adoption of the amended Organic Law, by the people of Oregon, was an act of necessity rather than of choice, and was intended to give to the people the protection which, of right, should be extended to them by their government; and not as an act of defiance or disregard of the authority or laws of the United States; therefore,

"It is further resolved—1st That, in the opinion of this house, the Congress of the United States, in establishing a territorial government, should legalize the acts of the people in this country, so far as they are in accordance with the constitution of the United States." (Oregon Archives, page 106).

On the same day a committee of the Provisional Legislature addressed a communication to Dr. McLoughlin asking the Hudson's Bay Company to become parties to the Provisional Government. Dr. McLoughlin and James Douglas on behalf of that company, forthwith replied consenting to join the Provisional Government. This communication and the reply thereto are given in full in a foot-note in Vol. 1, page 495, Bancroft's "History of Oregon." They are as follows:

"'Oregon City, Aug. 14, 1845. To Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of H. B. Co. Sir: As a question has arisen in the house of representatives on the subject of apportionment upon which we feel peculiarly situated, we beg leave to ask of you a question, the answer to which will enable us to come to a definite conclusion upon that subject. The question to which we would be happy to receive an answer is this: Do you think the gentlemen belonging to the company over which you preside will become parties to the articles of compact, by the payment of taxes and in other respects complying with the laws

of the provisional government? Your answer to this query is most respectfully solicited. Yours, with the highest respect. I. W. Smith, H. G. Lee, J. M. Garrison, Barton Lee."

"Oregon City, Aug. 15, 1845. I. W. Smith and others. Gentlemen: We have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 14th inst., and beg in reply to say, that, viewing the organization as a compact of certain parties, British and American subjects residing in Oregon, to afford each other protection in person and property, to maintain the peace of the community, and prevent the commission of crime—a protection which all parties in this country feel they particularly stand in need of as neither the British nor American government appear at liberty to extend the jurisdiction of their laws to this part of America; and moreover seeing that this compact does not interfere with our duties and allegiance to our respective governments, nor with any rights of trade now enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company—we, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, consent to become parties to the articles of compact, provided we are called upon to pay taxes only on our sales to settlers. We have the honor to be, etc., John McLoughlin, James Douglas."

The initials of Smith, Chairman of this Committee, are a misprint. His initials, as given in the Oregon Archives, are "J. M."

September 2, 1845, at Fort Vancouver, Dr. John McLoughlin wrote an autograph letter to Dr. W. F. Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and then at Fort Nisqually, in relation to this agreement to join the Provisional Government. This original letter is in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society. In it Dr. McLoughlin wrote:

"You will see by the accompanying copy of a letter addressed to me by several members of the Oregon Legislature, that we are invited to join the Legislature, and by our answer that, as it is merely a compact between the subjects of two nations living together in a country, free to both, to enable them to maintain peace and order among them, which could not be kept in any other way, and it does not interfere with our allegiance, as you see by the subjoined oath taken by the persons holding office, we considered it our duty to accede to the request, and we pay duties merely on the articles we sell to the settlers, as other merchants, and on our stock the same as other farmers."

August 18, 1845, Vancouver District or County was created. It was composed "of all that portion of Oregon Territory north of the middle of the main channel of the Columbia River." This Act was approved by Governor Abernethy August 20, 1845. August 19, 1845, the Legislature proceeded to the election of district judges for the District of Vancouver. It resulted in the election of James Douglas, the chief assistant of Dr. McLoughlin, for a term of three years, of Charles Forrest, Superintendent of the Hudson's Bay farm on the Cowlitz River, for one year, and of M. T. Simmons, an American immigrant of 1844, of Newmarket, near Puget Sound for two years. (Oregon Archives page 119).

Thus the Provisional Government became, in fact, a true temporary government extending, theoretically, at least, over the whole Oregon Country and applying to all residents therein without regard to allegiance or citizenship. It so continued until the boundary treaty of June 15, 1846, and thereafter south of the present boundary line between the United States and Canada, west of the Rocky Mountains, until the organization of the Territory of Oregon, March 3, 1849. If the original Provisional Government was in the interest of the United States this came to an end in August, 1845, and it was, and continued to be, until the boundary treaty went into force, merely a government for the people of the Oregon Country by their common consent and acquiescence and without regard to their allegiances.

As I have said, in May and July, 1843, there was no real need for a provisional or other government in Oregon, even in the Willamette Valley. But the arrival of the immigration of 1843, made such a government convenient, if not necessary. If, for no other reason, to enable settlers to take up land and not to interfere with the rights of prior locators. Such a government became necessary on the arrival of the immigration of 1844 which more than doubled the population of the Willamette Valley. It became imperative on the arrival of the immigration of 1845. The immigration of 1846 was between 1,500 and 1,700 persons. That of 1847 was between 4,000 and

5,000. That of 1848 was few in numbers as most of the overland immigrants went to California on account of the discovery of gold there.

Among the early acts of Governor Lane's administration was the taking of a census of all, except Indians, in Oregon Territory. It showed the following population in 1849: Total population 9,083, of whom 8,785 were American citizens and 298 foreigners. There were 5,410 males and 3,673 females. In the counties of Vancouver and Lewis, being all of Oregon north of the Columbia River, the total population was 304, of whom 189 were American citizens and 115 foreigners. (Evans' "History of the Pacific Northwest," Vol. 1, page 305).

I have been unable to ascertain, whether there was included in this census, men whose homes were in Oregon, who had gone to the mines in California. A large part of the male population of Oregon was then at the mines. Probably the absentees were counted, as their homes were in Oregon.

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE.

The Whitman massacre began November 29, 1847. I shall not, in this address, go into the horrible details of that event. It resulted in what is known as the Cayuse war. It was the first Indian war on the Pacific Coast, north of Mexico. All wars in the Oregon Country, previous to that time, had been prevented through the influence and power of Dr. McLoughlin. This war was fought by volunteers from the Willamette Valley and without aid or assistance from the United States. It was carried on by the Oregon Provisional Government. There were no regular troops in Oregon until May, 1849.

The Cayuse war aroused Congress to see the necessity of a territorial government for Oregon. The Act for the establishment of Oregon Territory passed Congress and became a law August 14, 1848. March 2, 1849, General Joseph Lane, Oregon's first territorial governor, arrived at Oregon City. March 3, 1849, he issued his proclamation assuming charge as Governor of the Territory of Oregon. The Provisional Government thus ended. Shortly afterwards the Territory of Oregon was

organized. Its first legislature met at Oregon City July 16, 1849. The last session of the Legislature of the Provisional Government adjourned *sine die* February 16, 1849.

SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

In one sense the Oregon Provisional Government may be said to have had its beginning in February, 1841. The Wolf meeting in March, 1843, the Champoege meeting of May 2, and the meeting of July 5 of the same year, were but carrying into practical effect what had been attempted in 1841. As I have shown, the organization of a provisional government was largely a matter of sentiment, but in the summer of 1845 the organization of a true provisional government became a necessity, not only from existing conditions, including the increase of population by the arrival of the large immigration of 1844, but in anticipation of the arrival of the immigration of 1845 and of succeeding immigrations until, at least, the settlement of the Oregon Question between the United States and Great Britain. It is most creditable to the pioneers of Oregon, up to the organization of the Oregon Territorial Government, in 1849, that the Provisional Government conducted itself as though it had real sovereignty in the disputed Oregon Country; that it derived and sustained its powers "from the consent of the governed"; that it was always just and fair to all peoples and their properties within its control and power; that it was, at least, tacitly recognized by Congress as competent to conduct affairs in the part of the Oregon Country determined as belonging to the United States by the boundary treaty of June 15, 1846, up to the organization of the Territorial Government.

By the Act of Congress of August 14, 1848, establishing the Territory of Oregon, it was provided that the existing laws of the Provisional Government, then in force, excepting all laws making grants of land or encumbering the titles of land, should continue to be valid, and to operate therein so far as the same were not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and the principles and provisions of said Act.

This was a high and just compliment to the law makers of the Oregon Provisional Government. The effect was to con-

tinue in force all its laws except those relating to the acquisition of land, and excepting also a law which was passed, apparently February 15, 1849, the day before the final adjournment of the last Legislature of the Provisional Government, and approved February 16, 1849, "For the weighing and assaying of gold, and melting and stamping the same." (Laws of 1843-9, page 58). Of course, this was not lawful, under the Constitution of the United States. But Congress had refused to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over Oregon, although the boundary treaty had been in force nearly two years and a half. There was practically no money in circulation, although gold dust was used, which was very unsatisfactory. Prior to the discovery of gold in California the only mediums of exchange were wheat, beaver skins, and store orders. The necessity of the law was its justification. It was characteristic of the early pioneers who had established and maintained this Provisional Government, because of the necessity of such a government but not against the United States. As the government of the United States had given them no laws they made laws for themselves. It is true no money was coined under this law, for on March 3, 1849, forty-seven days after its approval, Governor Lane, by his proclamation, placed Oregon Territory under the government of the United States and the Act organizing the Territory.

CONCLUSION.

It is well for us to be here and celebrate this anniversary. Whether it be the important day of the organization of the Provisional Government, is of small moment. We observe the Fourth day of July as the day of American Independence, but the American Revolutionary War had begun more than a year prior to the Declaration of Independence, and the war did not end until more than seven years thereafter, but the Fourth of July is the day we celebrate. It might well have been the date of the battle of Lexington, or the day the Treaty of Peace was ratified between Great Britain and the American Colonies. By common consent of the people of Oregon the second of May is

the day to celebrate the establishment of Oregon's Provisional Government by the American settlers and those associated with them, who, in a country without government, established law and order and a representative form of government, based on the best thoughts, principles and traditions of the American people, and of the Anglo-Saxon race.

HOW BRITISH AND AMERICAN SUBJECTS UNITE IN A COMMON GOVERNMENT FOR OREGON TERRITORY IN 1844*

By Robert C. Clark, Ph. D.

It is not the purpose of this paper to state with any detail the already so well-told story of the organization of a Provisional Government in Oregon. The main features of that narrative have been too long a matter of record and based upon too complete evidence to need repetition at my hands. Such of its details as are as given elsewhere will, so far as is consistent with clearness, be omitted here. This paper is, therefore, an attempt to supplement and correct existing accounts. It is now possible to perform such a task by the discovery of new materials in the form of letters written by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company¹ and by a more thorough use of the well known sources. To make needed additions to the existing accounts of the movement on the part of the settlers of the Willamette Valley to establish a government in the years 1841-1843; to explain the influences opposing this enterprise; to give more definitely the sources of the first constitution; and lastly, to tell how a union of all the people of Oregon territory south of the Columbia river,—British and Americans,—was brought about in 1844,—these in brief are the aims of this paper.

While the Oregon country was occupied jointly by British and American citizens with equal right from the agreement of 1818 to the treaty of 1846 that established the northern boundary of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, neither Great Britain nor the United States extended any governmental authority over the territory. The former intrusted to the Hudson's Bay Company the power to keep order and administer justice for her subjects, the latter left her citizens entirely to their own resources. The officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, located at Vancouver on north bank of the Columbia, had the authority of magistrates and could

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¹ Copies of these have been kindly loaned to the author by Professor Schafer.

arrest and confine their own employés for any minor offense. For the more serious crimes the accused had to be sent to Canada for trial. The authority of the Company, moreover, was recognized by its retired servants, Canadian citizens and others who had taken up their residence in the Willamette valley or elsewhere in Oregon territory.² Citizens of the United States left to their own resources had elected officers to administer justice for themselves as early as 1838.³ And in very serious cases improvised juries had administered on the spot a very acceptable justice.⁴ Thus it will be seen that the Oregon country really had from an early period as much governing authority as was needful for the conditions of the time. In these years there were no serious quarrels between persons recognizing a conflicting allegiance. Such conflicts were, however, an ever increasing danger to the peace of the community as the number of Americans was swelled by yearly immigrations. But the French-Canadians were so peaceful, industrious, and inoffensive, the Americans for the most part so law-abiding, that it was possible to postpone for some years the organization of a government that might embrace the whole community. Such a movement began early in 1841 after the coming in 1839 and 1840 of a few adventurous men from the middle western states. This small immigration furnished two or three men of good education and some legislative experience who seem to have given the impulse and furnished in part the leadership for such an enterprise.

Now at the outset of this effort to organize a government there were not more than 140 white men settled in the region south of the Columbia river, made up almost equally of citizens of Great Britain and the United States. The former consisted for the most part of French-Canadians and half-breeds, with

² McLoughlin letter of March 20, 1843; F. C. Amer. 401; *Wilkes' Narrative*, IV., 330.

³ Oregon Settlers' Petition of 1840; 25th Congress 3d. Sess. H. Reports, 101; *Gray's History of Oregon*, p. 194, speaks of "self-constituted tribunals." For two years before 1840 persons had been chosen as "judges and magistrates." *Hines' Oregon History*, p. 417.

⁴ *Samuel Parker, Journal of an Exploring Tour in 1835*, p. 181.

their Indian wives.⁵ The latter, of those attached to the Methodist and other missionary enterprises, ministers and laymen; and independent and unattached American element,—mountain men, ex-trappers with native wives, and a few men who had gradually filtered over the mountains from various of the western states (some had come via California.) In addition there were a few of various nationalities upon whom sat lightly any especial allegiance. These people were scattered along the prairies bordering on the Willamette river and its tributaries. Such a community was naturally fitted for a common government since communication by means of the water courses was fairly easy and certain bonds of common interest had arisen.

The immediate need of more efficient legal machinery was seriously felt when one of the better-to-do residents of the valley died leaving a valuable estate and no heirs to take possession of it. Out of this situation developed a movement to create an organization with sufficient authority to deal with such matters. This movement was not a complete success, but as a result of it the community secured a full corps of officers, with the exception of an executive head. These were chosen in February, 1841, at a gathering described as a "full meeting of the inhabitants of Willamette Valley"⁶ and the supreme judge was instructed to act according to laws of the State of New York until a code of its own be adopted by the community. A legislative committee, appointed at this time to draft a constitution and laws, failed to report to a subsequent meeting in June and so the settlement failed to secure a fully organized and constitutional government. It is to be noted, however, that as a result of this movement a definite body of officials were given authority to administer justice for the community. Though their power and tenure of office were not placed upon a constitutional basis, yet they had an authority emanating directly from the people. The instruction to follow

⁵ Lord Durham's description of the contemporary French in Canada seems a good characterization of those in Oregon. "They are mild and kindly, frugal, industrious, and honest, very sociable, cheerful and hospitable, and distinguished for a courtesy and real politeness." *Report of Earl of Durham, 1838*, p. 17.

⁶ Grover, *Oregon Archives*, p. 5.

the laws of New York gave a measure of guidance to their judicial officers.⁷ The people now had a machinery for making arrests, punishing offenders, and settling disputes more elaborate and more efficient than possessed before. The officers elected at this February meeting held office for more than two years. Another public meeting in May, 1843, authorized them to continue in office until July 5 of that year. A foreign visitor writing at the time testifies that the Willamette settlement is "ready to take cognizance under a code of its own formation of such cases of outrage as may occur."⁸ From the facts here given it will be seen that the Willamette community had taken in 1841 a long step towards establishing an organized government.

At the outset of this movement of 1841 all the people of the valley seemed to have joined in it. The journals of the public meetings speak of them as full meetings of all the inhabitants. Americans, French-Canadians, Englishmen were chosen impartially for the offices created. The French Catholic priest, F. N. Blanchet, was named first on the legislative committee. A policy of conciliation and comprehension was evidently followed. The June meeting even went so far as to refer the question of the expediency of forming a government to the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Apparently a spirit of harmony and good will prevailed at this period.

But such unanimity of opinion and feeling did not long endure. There were some men who did not deem a government necessary.⁹ Captain Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, visiting the Willamette settlement at this time, advised against such a movement. Furthermore, the Hudson's Bay Company was opposed to it. Its officers feared a conflict with the young and belligerent community. The company had assisted in bringing into the country the priests who admin-

⁷ Dr. Babcock, supreme judge, was a native of New York. This is probably the reason for such instruction. James A. O'Neil, who came to Oregon in 1834, was a native of New York, had studied law to some extent in his native state, and had a copy of the New York statutes. This statement is made on information given many years ago by the late Medoreum Crawford, also of New York State. Information given by Mr. George H. Himes.

⁸ Letter of Sir George Simpson, 1841. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV., p. 81.

⁹ *Wilkes' Narrative*, IV., p. 330.

istered to the French-Canadians and expected them to use their influence to further its interests.¹⁰ The Canadians were for the most part retired servants of the Company and obedient to its instructions. Now under the direction of their spiritual advisers the French withdrew their support from the movement to form a government. Writing in November, 1841, one of the managers of the company could boast, "This last summer the Willamette community made strong effort to form a constitution for themselves, but the Company's influence over the Canadian settlers in a large measure defeated that object."¹¹ Though one of the Catholic clergy had been selected as head of the constitutional committee, a little pressure from the officials of the company secured his resignation.

Thus the active hostility of the Hudson's Bay Company, the indifference of many of the Americans and opposition of others, the refusal of the Canadians to join the movement caused a failure to secure a constitution at this time. Besides many were satisfied with having secured a body of officials able to deal with such exigencies as might arise in the immediate future, and the very coming together for common action in a matter of public interest had shown the colony able to deal with affairs of consequence as they might come up.¹²

By the arrival in the fall of 1842 of some 140 Americans led by Dr. Elijah White, recently appointed by the government of the United States a sub-agent for the Oregon Indians, a new impetus was given to the agitation for a government. In September of 1842 a public meeting was held to receive the credentials of Dr. White.¹³ As far as the formal minutes of the meeting show it came together merely to express the sentiments of the community on appointment of Dr. White. Hines says that White made claims to larger powers than those of an Indian agent, equivalent to those of governor, but no definite conclusion was reached on this point.¹⁴ Though the formal minutes

¹⁰ *Letter of Sir George Simpson, Am. Hist. Rev., XIV., p. 81.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Hines' Oregon History, p. 420.*

¹³ *White, Ten Years in Oregon, p. 168.*

¹⁴ *Oregon Hist., p. 421.* White calls this the "largest and happiest public meeting ever convened in this infant colony."

of this meeting show only an expression of approval of the recognition given the needs of the community by the United States in the appointment of an Indian agent, there is other evidence that the claim of Dr. White to an authority over the territory equivalent to that of a governor aroused again a discussion of the question of organizing a provisional government. At least Dr. White's activity seems to have given anxiety to the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company who characterized him as "active, forward and very presumptuous" and held him responsible along with some of those connected with the missions for further meetings of the people held with "a view to the election of a governor."¹⁵ But whatever efforts of this nature may have been made in 1842 were again defeated by the Canadians who "outvoted" the Americans.¹⁶

Further incentive for urging on the formation of a provisional government grew out of the grievances against the Hudson's Bay Company held by some of the Americans, especially those connected with the Methodist Mission. McLoughlin, chief factor at Vancouver, laid claim to land at the Falls of the Willamette that was coveted by the Methodists. Some of these as early as 1841 had formed a milling company and seized upon a site on an island in the river at the Falls, on the ground that McLoughlin had taken possession of on behalf of the Company in 1829.¹⁷ The missionaries had also erected buildings on the east bank of the river, a further encroachment on the McLoughlin claim. In 1842 McLoughlin had the claim surveyed and laid out into lots for a town named Oregon City. He had also set up a rival mill and the American company were fearful of its competition. The conduct of the Company in its dealing with the colony and of McLoughlin in insisting upon the priority of his claim at the Falls were made subjects of complaint and grievance in a petition to Congress drawn up in a meeting of the Americans held early in 1843. They urged

¹⁵ Letter of Sir George Simpson written from Red River Settlement, June 21, 1843, *F. O. Amer.*, 401.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Simpson Letters, Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV., 80.

as a reason for the speedy extension to them of the jurisdiction of the United States the need of "laws that will be respected and obeyed" in order to put an end to the monopolistic control exercised over the colony by the Hudson's Bay Company. This petition bore the signatures of a large number of the Americans in the colony,—65 names in all.¹⁸

Now while there might be some hope of protection from Congress and perhaps the McLoughlin claim might ultimately be disallowed by that body, a more speedy way of securing "law that will be respected and obeyed" was at hand. The same men who had put their names to the petition to Congress now revived the project for organizing a government for the settlement. (Twenty of the signers of the Petition of 1843 voted for organization of a government in May of that year.) They saw a means of checkmating the Hudson's Bay Company in the formulation of a skillfully devised land law that would deprive McLoughlin of his land claim.

To advance this object meetings of the settlers were called early in 1843. To disguise their true purpose and to persuade the Canadians to join them these meetings were called to consider measures for protection against wild animals. Out of them came the appointment of a committee to issue a call for a public assembly to "consider the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of the colony."¹⁹

Some of the French-Canadians had attended these so-called "Wolf Meetings," but were not yet ready to join the movement to establish a government.²⁰ McLoughlin was kept well informed of what was going on in the Willamette country and the Canadians were still well under his control. He, as well as the higher officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, were by this time beginning to realize that though the movement might be postponed so long as their retired servants were able to out-vote the Americans, the latter were now "numerous enough to carry their point."²¹ The Canadians seem to have begun to

¹⁸ Holman, *McLoughlin*, p. 198, for Petition of Citizens of Oregon, 1843.

¹⁹ Grover, *Oregon Archives*.

²⁰ The second meeting was at the home of J. Gervais, Grover, *Oregon Archives*, p. 9. Letter of McLoughlin, March 20, 1843, *F. O. Amer.* 401.

²¹ Letter of Sir George Simpson, June 21, 1843, *F. O. Amer.* 401.

yield to the persuasion of their neighbors and McLoughlin writes as if he, too, realized that it was to their advantage to join the Americans. In a letter of March 20, 1843, he says, "Tho some of the Canadians were present at the meeting of March 17 (the second of the Wolf Meetings) still, though in no way inclined to join in the measure to erect a temporary government, yet they must admit the strength of the argument used by the Americans that they must, now that people are coming here from different countries, adopt some plan to keep peace in the country, and that while they, the Canadians, are bound, those who come from the states are amenable to no authority."²²

Perhaps if the enterprise had been less partisan and not so manifestly the outcome of dislike of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadians would have been persuaded to join it. But McLoughlin had received information of the petition against the company directed to the Congress of the United States.²³ Besides in the minds of the officers of that organization there was a real danger that the success of the movement might lead to "serious difficulties, for if these people enter on the exercise of self government they will unquestionably attempt to assume authority over all the inhabitants of the district, British as well as foreign."²⁴ So pursuing the same policy as before they endeavored to defeat the undertaking by the use of the Canadians. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Willamette settlements on May 2, 1843, the Canadians attended in full force and all but defeated a motion recommending the establishment of a provisional government.²⁵ Upon the passing of this motion by the small majority of two the dissenters withdrew.²⁶ The fear of the Hudson's Bay Company officers that the Americans would be numerous enough to carry their object had been realized.

²² F. O. Amer. 401.

²³ Letter of Simpson, June 21, 1843, cited above tells of a letter written to McLoughlin by an American lawyer, Hastings, of a "close meeting" at Falls of Willamette for purpose of petitioning Congress.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The journal of the meeting shows that the motion was at first declared lost. A division is said to have given a majority in favor of organizing. Gray, *Hist. of Oregon*, p. 279.

²⁶ Journal of meeting of May 2, 1843, in Oregon Archives.

This May assembly, undiscouraged by the desertion of almost half their number, proceeded to elect a full corps of officers for the colony, excepting a governor. A legislative committee given authority to draft a constitution and laws, having completed its work in the six days of session allowed, presented it to a meeting of the people held July 5. This meeting adopted the Organic Articles and Laws which thus became Oregon's first written constitution.

The legislative committee of nine that made this contribution to state constitution making were not lawyers. There were as yet no lawyers in the colony. Its chairman, Robert Moore, had been a member of the Missouri legislature. The leading spirit of the committee seems to have been Robert Shortess, a native of Ohio, formerly a school teacher, and of good education. He had been the principal mover in calling the meeting earlier in the year that had drawn up the petition to Congress complaining of the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company, and now did most of the work of formulating the Organic Articles and Laws that were to give the colony an organized government. There happened to be in the settlement a copy of the statute laws of the Territory of Iowa enacted in 1838-39, and containing the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787, an Act to divide the Territory of Wisconsin and to establish the territorial government of Iowa, and lastly the Statute Laws of Iowa arranged in alphabetical order beginning with "abatement" and ending with "worshipping congregations." With so much constitutional and legal material available, and such as had proved useful for the last and more infant of the territories of the United States, the work of the committee became largely a matter of compilation and adaptation. The Organic Articles as finally adopted are therefore scarcely more than a rehash,—with necessary changes in phraseology,—of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Organic Law

of Iowa, together with some parts of the Iowa code.²⁷ Land and militia laws suitable to local conditions, together with a provision for districting the territory, were added. The two novel features of the constitution were the vesting of the executive power in three persons and the provision for securing funds to support the government by voluntary subscription.

The land law seems to show the animus and purpose of the whole movement. While it makes provision for registering land claims with the recorder of the territory and thus fulfilled one of the chief objects of those desiring a constitution, by furnishing a means of avoiding conflicts in land claims and laying the basis for a more secure title, in its fourth clause it prohibited the holding of a claim of 640 acres "upon city or town lots, extensive water privileges or other situations necessary for the transaction of mercantile or manufacturing operations." Then in order to shut out the Hudson's Bay Company and yet recognize the rights of the Methodist mission a proviso was added that "nothing in these laws shall be construed as to affect any claim of a religious character made prior to this time."

The constitution of 1843 fell far short of providing an orderly and stable government. Its makers showed great timidity and hesitation, and failed completely to provide the proper sanctions for such a government. It manifestly included within the bounds of its powers only those who had participated in its formation or voluntarily submitted to its terms. Perhaps a majority of the settlers did not recognize the government set up by it. The provision for supporting the government by the circulation of subscription papers shows that there was no intention on the part of the makers of this constitution to coerce any one. They even hesitated to fix a northern boundary to the territory because they did not wish to claim a definite jurisdiction over the Hudson's Bay Company officials and prop-

²⁷ Careful comparison of the Organic Articles with these sources shows how phrases were picked out here and there and woven together to describe the various authorities set up. Section 1 of the Articles is almost identical with the articles of compact closing the Ordinance of 1787. Articles 4, 5, 6, 7, in section 2, are adapted from sections 7, 2, 4, and 9, respectively, of the Iowa Organic Law. The other articles are taken from the code of Iowa. *The Statute Laws of Iowa, Reprint of 1839 edition.*

erty.²⁸ For all practical purposes, then, the settlers of the Willamette were little bettered by adopting this constitution in 1843. There was as yet little need of a better organized government than that furnished by election of officers in 1841. The government was entirely American. The British and Canadians considered it a purely "American compact," protested against it,²⁹ and on withdrawing from the meeting in May, 1843, "delivered to the Americans a declaration of their reasons for remaining separate."³⁰ Nor did the Hudson's Bay Company in any way recognize the authority of the provisional government. With these important elements completely beyond its jurisdiction and control the most important need of a government, an organization obeyed by all inhabitants, reconciling all conflicting interests, empowered to settle without resort to arms but through peaceful judicial procedure all conflicts that might arise, such an organization was not secured. This government, too distinctly partisan in character, could not be permanent.

Until the arrival at the Willamette in the fall of 1843 of some 800 prospective settlers the question of governmental status seems not to have troubled the colony. For a time it seemed doubtful if the new arrivals, so greatly outnumbering those settlers already in the territory, would acknowledge a government of so questionable origin as that of July, 1843. Some of them favored the establishment of an independent state on the ground "that if the country becomes a territory of the United States it will be so remote from the seat of government that it will be very difficult for them to get the laws made that they require."³¹ While the majority were opposed to independence they doubted the success of a movement that failed to take in all the inhabitants, British as well as American. The Canadians, too, impressed by so large an addition to the American element, now realized that it would be no longer "possible to maintain peace and order" without a gov-

²⁸ Oregon territory was made to include all the region south of the northern boundary of the United States. As this boundary west of Rocky Mountains had not yet been determined the language is no doubt intentionally vague.

²⁹ *Warre and Vavasour documents, Quart. Oreg. Hist. Society, X., 51.*

³⁰ *McLoughlin letter to Captain Gordon, September 15, 1845, F. O. Amer., 459.*

³¹ *McLoughlin letter July 4, 1844; Accompaniment to Mitchell's Map of Texas, Oregon and Calif., 17; Burnett letter in Niles Register, LXVIII., 393.*

ernment.³² Besides the Americans now called upon their French neighbors to join them in forming a government for all.³³ New arrivals and old settlers combined in this effort to secure a union with the Canadians.³⁴ At last a meeting called apparently for the purpose of hearing the wishes of the Canadians and to harmonize such differences of opinion as had arisen was held in March, 1844. To this assembly the Canadian residents of the Willamette Valley presented an address, drawn up by one of their priests—Me. Langlois³⁵—in which they set forth their objections to the existing government and suggested what seemed to them a better plan of organization.

The evidence that such a meeting was held for the special purpose of conciliating the Canadians and considering a plan of union is as follows: 1. The salutation of the address reads, "We, the Canadian citizen residents of the Wallamat, maturely considering the object for which the people are gathered in the present meeting, present the unanimous expression of our desire for union." 2. The signatures of president, two vice presidents, two secretaries, three Americans, one (Joseph Gervais) certainly, another probably (Francis Renay) Frenchmen, indicate a meeting of some kind, made up of both Americans and Canadians, though so many officers may show a permanent organization. These signatures are found at the bottom of the French copy of the address. 3. McLoughlin in a letter of September, 1845, says that the address was handed in in March to a meeting then assembled. 4. There is an indorsement in a different handwriting from that of the address on back of the English copy, "Address of the Canadians to the Meeting at Champa—" (illegible).

Inasmuch as it has been the practice to date this address as drawn up in 1842 and presented some time in 1843, it seems desirable to give the reasons for fixing its date as 1844.

³² *Letters of McLoughlin, F. O. Amer.*, 440, 459

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Signatures of officers at bottom of Canadian Address, *Oregon Archives, Provisional*, 1.

³⁵ McLoughlin states positively that it was drawn up and presented by him. It has always been incorrectly attributed to F. N. Blanchet. Langlois arrived at the Willamette Falls, September 16, 1842. He later became superintendent of St. Joseph's College founded at Oregon City by Blanchet. *De Smet's Oregon Missions in Early Western Travels*, 29: 135.

There are in existence three known contemporary copies of this address of the Canadian citizens. Two of these, one written in French, the other apparently an English translation, have been preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Salem and are apparently the original copies presented to the meeting mentioned above. The third, an English translation sent by John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver to the home office, is to be found in the foreign office of the British Government.³⁶ No one of these three copies is dated. The two English copies are not duplicates nor are they good translations of the French. The English translation found at Salem was printed, with errors of transcription, in Grover's Oregon Archives, in 1853. The French original seems to have been overlooked or at least is unnoticed in any existing account of the Provisional Government. All of these accounts alike place the document in 1842 and 1843 as noted above. Apparently the only reason for so dating it has been because the copyist who made the copy for the printed Oregon Archives in 1853 took the indorsement to be found on the back of the English translation and made it read "Address of the Canadian Citizens of Oregon to the Meeting at Champoege, March 4, 1843." No note is made of the fact that the indorsement is written in a hand different from that of the document itself and that the name of the place of meeting is of doubtful reading. Accepting the heading as given and finding no record of a meeting for the purpose indicated by the address on March 4, all writers on early Oregon history have concluded that the address was made to the meeting at Champoege, May 2, 1843. They have further been encouraged in this error by the misleading English translation and by the statement of W. H. Gray, one of the members of the legislative committee of 1843, who says³⁷ that the address was handed in to a sub-committee of three, of which he was a member, by the clerk of the legislative committee, examined and handed back to him. Gray, how-

³⁶ A copy has been loaned me by Professor Schafer who has also called to my attention the existence of the French original.

³⁷ *History of Oregon*, 273.

ever, was writing some 25 years after the event with the printed address before him. His identification of this document as the one that was handed in to his committee cannot be accepted as positive. There is evidence as already given that the Canadians handed in at the time of their withdrawal from the May meeting in 1843 a protest and declaration of a character different from this address. The first gave reasons for remaining separate, the second expresses a desire for union. The first may be the document that Gray had in mind.

However this may be, that the address of the Canadians was delivered in 1844 seems susceptible of the most positive proof. 1. McLoughlin inclosing a copy of the address [the Hudson's Bay copy mentioned above] in a letter of July 4, 1844, writes that "the American citizens called on the Canadians to join them and organize a government for themselves, and though the Canadians refused last year, they consented this year, but first gave in the 'address'." This shows that though in 1843 the Canadians were unwilling, in 1844 they had changed their minds and that the address was presented after they had determined on joining the union. 2. In another letter of March 20, 1845, McLoughlin says, "From the great additional number of immigrants who came in 1843 the Canadians considered it necessary to have an organization to pass laws and on strength of the address handed in in March to the meeting then assembled" voted at the election in May, 1844. This shows that it was not until after the great increase in the numbers of Americans by the immigration of 1843 that the Canadians became convinced of the necessity of a government. These new-comers did not reach the Willamette until late in November of that year. This fixes March, 1844, as the date. 3. There is also the further evidence of the names appended to the French version of the address. The signatures run from the bottom of the last page towards the top, filling the blank margin. They are quite evidently genuine as a comparison with other signatures of the same men has shown. S. Smith³⁸ signs as

³⁸ Awkwardly written, but Mr. George H. Himes is positive that it is the signature of Sidney Smith.

president; J. Gervez [signs with his mark, usually written Gervais] as vice president; Francis Renay, apparently as a second vice president; and Charles E. Pickett and S. M. Holderness as secretaries. Now the two last came to Oregon with the immigration of 1843.³⁹

An examination of the internal evidence furnished by the document itself is quite as convincing as that already given that it belongs to the year 1844. 1. In the first and second clauses of the address the Canadians say that they "desire laws and regulations for the protection of persons and property and will not resist the measures of this nature passed last year by a part of the people, although not approving of all the regulations then made. Let the magistrates finish their year." Now in the opinion of those accepting 1842 as the date of the address these clauses have reference to the effort made in 1841 to form a government. Yet there were no definite laws or regulations adopted then, no officers elected for any prescribed term, and whatever action then taken had been that of the whole people, Canadians as well as Americans, and not of "part of the people" as described in the address. These statements of the address seem to apply exactly to situation created by the movement of 1843. Laws and regulations had then been adopted by a part of the people and officers elected for a year. Moreover at the date of the address the Canadians are ready to form a union with the other settlers. In 1843 they were opposed to forming a government, attempted to outvote the Americans and withdrew from the May meeting when defeated. This certainly fixes the date at some time subsequent to the meeting of July 5, 1843, at which the government was finally established. 2. The address shows a knowledge of the articles and laws adopted at that meeting. It is largely a criticism of the American plan of union and such a criticism as would have been made after having studied its organic act. Since the work of the legislative committee that drew this up was not completed until the latter part of June, 1843, such knowl-

³⁹ Nesmith list of 1843 Immigrants, *Trans. Oreg. Pioneer Assoc.*, 1879.

edge of it as shown in the address could hardly have been obtained prior to that time. The address could not have been written in 1843 because the reference to action taken "last year" would have no meaning. No constitution and laws were issued in 1842.

Those writers who have found internal evidence for 1842 or 1843 as the date of the address have depended on its 5th clause as given in the printed English translation. This clause is there made to read, "we are opposed to the regulations anticipated." This seems to imply foreknowledge on the part of the Canadians as to the kind of constitution and laws the Americans intended to adopt in 1843, and thus makes intelligible the objections found in the address. The Canadians really said something entirely different as shown by an examination of the same clause of the French original. "We oppose any regulations too much in advance of our state of society" is what they really said.

It seems entirely possible that the indorsement on the back of the English copy which has heretofore led the unwary historian astray may be correct in everything but the year. If it was made by some one at a later period the mistake would be easy to understand, or even if written at the time by some one of the secretaries (the ink is the same as that of the signatures on French document) it would have been easy for the slip to be made. With the evidence thus conclusive that the address was composed in 1844, with other independent evidence—that of the McLoughlin letter of March 20, 1845, that it was presented at a meeting in March, it seems quite probable that this meeting was held on March 4, the day of the month given in the indorsement.

The Canadians stood out in this address for a union that would incorporate all the various elements of the community. The plan of government adopted in 1843 was as they express it "too individual," meaning too distinctly American. Until the boundary of the territory has been definitely fixed by treaty between Great Britain and the United States they insist that the country must be open alike to citizens of every na-

ionality,⁴⁰ and any government that shall be formed should be respectful of the rights of all the inhabitants.⁴¹

They criticise the American plan of government as providing too many offices "filled with too many useless titles for our state of poverty," as they express it. "In a new country, the more men employed and paid by the public, the fewer remain for industry." So in their plan of organization they would have a single council, its members elected from different districts, perform all the necessary governing functions. A magistrate from whose decisions appeals may be taken to the central council, would be elected for each district to act as a justice of the peace. Further they would secure the right of the individual citizen to be heard in affairs of general public interest in the meetings of the council when assembled to discuss and regulate the needs of the colony.⁴²

At the outset in a new colony they would have as few laws as possible "as the more laws there are the more opportunity for trickery for those who make the law a profession." They would also guard against technicalities in the law that "would substitute cunning for trickery." They would have such laws as may be adopted require of the community as little expense as possible. Especially should they not be made burdensome to new comers. For this reason taxes should be light as possible; the land law should not provide unnecessarily troublesome requirements as to fixing exact boundaries to a claim and registering it.⁴³ A militia law would not be necessary because a militia is not needed and when created would be an object of suspicion to the natives and besides a hindrance to the necessary work of the community.

The Canadians also made request in this address for some measure of local autonomy for themselves. They fear being completely submerged by the Americans and seek some guarantee that their customs will be respected and that they may

⁴⁰ Clauses 11 and 12. "Whether subjects of England, France, Ireland or California."

⁴¹ Clause 11. "Free to every individual to establish himself here without distinction of origin and without right to make him pay for becoming a citizen."

⁴² Clause 16. Curiously omitted from the English versions.

⁴³ "We are opposed to any registrations whatever." (Clauses 4 and 9).

be free to make such regulations as are suited to their own needs. Such in brief is the purport of this curious document.

Unfortunately we are without a record of this March meeting of 1844 to which this address of the Canadians was presented. Minutes of other public meeting of the time have been preserved in our archives, but for some reason this one is mentioned by no contemporary American writer, and only casually alluded to by the Hudson's Bay official correspondence. But from what followed the meeting it seems that some understanding must have been reached in it. Possibly the Americans suggested that the new legislature soon to be elected would be able to repeal the obnoxious laws and consider the suggestions given as to modifications in the existing form of government. The letters of the Hudson's Bay Company officials written at the time imply some kind of definite compact or agreement between Canadians and Americans.⁴⁴ In their address the Canadians had professed a willingness to obey the laws adopted in 1843 and to recognize the government then set up and now, apparently, satisfied with assurances given them they agreed to associate themselves with the organization already formed and to signify such union by participating in the election of officers in the coming May. At this annual election they voted for the first time and helped to elect a new executive committee, a legislative committee, and the other prescribed officers.⁴⁵

The new executive and legislative committees showed very great consideration for the sentiments of the Canadian and British settlers,⁴⁶ and a desire for harmony and compromise. At the suggestion of the executive the legislative committee passed several laws that indicate such a spirit. Following the suggestion of the Canadian address the land law was repealed and a new one enacted that abandoned the requirement for

⁴⁴ British and Yankees have joined in forming a sort of provisional government," writes the commander of the British ship of war, *Modeste*, who visited Oregon in July, 1844. *F. O. Amer.*, 440. "The Canadians and other retired servants of the Company became parties to these measures (those passed by legislative assembly of 1844.) *Letter of Sir George Simpson*.

⁴⁵ *McLoughlin Letter March 20, 1845*.

⁴⁶ One of the executive committee, Dr. Bailey, characterized by McLoughlin as a "cockney," was an Irishman by birth. Gray speaks of him as having come to the meeting in 1841 with the Canadians pledged to elect him for governor. *Hist. of Oregon*, p. 275.

registration of land claims. The clause 4 of the old act that was intended to deprive McLoughlin of his claim at the Falls of the Willamette is dropped.⁴⁷ By another measure the northern boundary of the territory over which the provisional government claimed jurisdiction was fixed at the Columbia River.⁴⁸ This shows an unwillingness to encroach upon the Hudson's Bay Company. Provision was also made and agreed to by the Canadians, for supporting the government by taxation and depriving those who refused to contribute of any right to vote or to receive protection from the government. The form of the executive was also changed and provision made to elect a governor at the next annual election. So important were the changes made in the Organic Laws and Articles of 1843 by the legislative committee of 1844 that something like a new constitution was then made. It was under these new articles of compact and agreement that the Canadians and British subjects south of the Columbia joined with the Americans in constituting a government.

From the new facts herein first presented showing how the Canadians were led finally to join with the Americans in forming a temporary government for the Oregon territory it is now clear that the movement of 1843, participated in by only a "part of the people" must not be considered as anything more than one of several steps in the direction of setting up a constitutional government. The first of these steps had been taken in 1838 when the American element elected magistrates for themselves; the second in 1841 by the selection of a larger body of officers; the third in 1843 with the placing of the government on a more definite constitutional basis. But until 1844 the British and Canadian citizens held aloof and were only brought into the union in that year under the circumstances described. By this fourth step a government embracing all the inhabitants and

⁴⁷ *General and Special Laws of Oregon, 1843-1849*, 77. It is worth while noticing that the Methodist mission had been disbanded and its land and property distributed to its individual members so that there was no reason to retain the proviso of clause 4.

⁴⁸ *General Laws*, 74. In the next session, Dec., 1844, changed again to 54° 40', but in taking the census the sheriff was not required to go beyond the Columbia. *Ibid*, 72.

comprising all the territory south of the Columbia River was established. Not until the next year and by means of a special agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company and by forming a third constitution was the region north of the Columbia and its residents brought into the bounds of the infant state. But this is a story by itself and not to be related here.

JOHN FISKE'S CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ON THE WHITMAN LEGEND

By Leslie M. Scott

John Fiske, the eminent historian, once accepted as authentic the story that Whitman "saved" Oregon. But later scrutiny changed his view and before his death in 1901 he repudiated the story completely.

This matter is brought up at this time by re-publication, by the Oregon Pioneer Association, of Mr. Fiske's address, delivered by him at Astoria, May 11, 1892; also by recent publication of the Marshall work (*Acquisition of Oregon*) which dissects and destroys the "Whitman myth." Mr. Marshall was directly instrumental in changing the view of Mr. Fiske. Letters exchanged by them after 1892, discussing the subject, are in possession of Mr. C. B. Bagley of Seattle, publisher of the Marshall book, and have been read by the present writer.

Mr. Fiske accepted the Whitman-saved-Oregon story in his address at Astoria; but the address as published in 1909 (*Unpublished Orations*; Boston Bibliophile Society) is wholly revised and rewritten in the part relating to Whitman; the original remarks are expunged and the substitute are expanded. The version as finally authorized by the historian eliminates the legend, dismisses as a "fiction of the imagination" the tale that Whitman "saved" Oregon by leading the migration of 1843. The revision is published by the Oregon Pioneer Association.

This change of view in the historical eye of Mr. Fiske has important bearing on accepted facts and future researches into old Oregon annals. Mr. Fiske's Astoria address gave immense weight to the "legend." Lighter authorities found themselves somewhat flattened by the steam roller from Cambridge. But Mr. Fiske heard protests; looked further; reversed his earlier conclusions. Then unwilling to bequeath the error to posterity, he expunged it and rewrote his Astoria "speech." He calls Whitman faithful missionary and "martyr;" speaks of him sympathetically as a daring pioneer, pursuing the westward

movement of his time, but withholds from him the title that the disputed story has conferred during half a century—that of “empire saver.”

“We do well on this commemorative occasion,” says the revised version, “to honor the faithful missionary who endured severe privations, braved great dangers, and fell a martyr to the missionary work to which he had devoted his life. But we should do him great injustice to ascribe to him projects of empire for which neither his words nor his acts give any warrant, which necessitate the appropriation to him of the labors of others and require an entire misreading of our diplomatic history in regard to the history of Oregon.”

For the sake of true history it is fortunate that we have the corrected conclusions of Mr. Fiske, so clearly and strongly stated as they appear in the posthumous publication.

In the original address the latter part, about 1300 words, is devoted to Whitman. In the revision this part is enlarged to 4000 words and completely altered.

The revision is changed from the original but little in other respects—only in literary refinements of a word or a sentence now and then. The original was published in the *Morning Oregonian* of May 12, 1892, inserted in that paper by the late editor, H. W. Scott, who received it from Mr. George H. Himes, Secretary of the Oregon Pioneer Association, who obtained it from Mr. Fiske. The original compared with the revision bears evidences of hasty composition, and the part relating to Whitman shows immature investigation. Mr. Fiske accepted Barrows, Gray, and others before looking into the subject for himself.

Mr. Fiske at Astoria repeated the “wagon-on-the-Columbia” story; said Hudson’s Bay men discouraged immigration and barred wagon progress; told the tale of Whitman spurred by the Red River immigration in 1842 to make his “ride” to “save” Oregon in the Webster-Ashburton negotiations. Portrayed the nation as awakened by Whitman to the value of Oregon and the immigration of 1843 as actuated by him. These several myths have been disbelieved and disproved during many

years by real admirers of Whitman who have regretted the false aspects that they gave the life and character of the heroic pioneer and missionary. The completest disproof is that of Professor William I. Marshall, recently published in two volumes by Lowman & Hanford Co. of Seattle.

Mr. Marshall was a very persistent prober after facts of Oregon history and equally persistent in combating authors of the "legend." In 1895 he wrote Mr. Fiske a letter of eight pages, closely typewritten, exposing details of the "legend." This Mr. Fiske acknowledged with thanks and asked for more. Mr. Marshall later supplied Mr. Fiske with further information. It seems evident that Mr. Marshall gave Mr. Fiske much of the evidence on which he based the revision of his Astoria address.

The present writer, believing himself a faithful admirer of Whitman's character and work in the acquisition of Oregon, offers the foregoing for the sake of Whitman's place in verified history. The writer feels that the time is here when this subject can be examined free from the controversy that has been urged during many years.

JOHN FISKE'S ORIGINAL VERSION OF WHITMAN'S MISSIONARY
ENTERPRISE GIVEN IN ORATION AT ASTORIA,
MAY 11, 1892.

"In that same year, 1832, four Flathead Indians made a pilgrimage to St. Louis, we are told, in search of the white man's book of salvation. What manner of patent medicine their savage head may have fancied the sacred volume to contain, whether it would give them ample hunting grounds or ward off the dreaded tomahawk and still more dreaded incantations of the next hostile tribe, it would be hard to say; but the incident attracted the attention of the American Board of Missions and led to the sending of missionaries to the Indians of Oregon. Among these the coming of the Reverend Henry Spalding and Doctor Marcus Whitman, with their wives, may be said to mark the beginning of a new era in the taking possession of the country. It was in September, 1836, that they reached Fort Walla Walla, after their arduous journey.

One of the most picturesque scenes in the early history of

New England is the migration of Thomas Hooker and his church in June, 1635, from Cambridge, to the bank of the Connecticut River, there they forthwith made the beginning of the town of Hartford. The picture of that earnest party in pursuit of a lofty purpose—a party of husbands and wives with their children, taking with them their cattle and their household goods, and led by their sturdy pastor, a great founder of American democracy—is a very pleasant one. Mrs. Hooker being in poor health, was carried all of the way on a litter. That was a pilgrimage of something more than one hundred miles, through a country not hard to traverse, under June skies. Much more striking and not less sweet is the picture of our little party of devoted missionaries two centuries later, making their toilsome way across this continent and threading the intricate mountain passage between the upper Missouri and the lower Columbia, Mrs. Spalding much of the time ill and sometimes so exhausted as to make her recovery seem doubtful. That journey stands out as typical of the bringing across these rugged Sierras, the home with all its sacred and tender associations; and it will long live in history as it deserves to. An incident especially marked it; the resolute Whitman brought his wagon all the way, up hill and down dale, in spite of rocks and bushes and whatever hindrances the forest could offer until the rattle of its wheels was heard upon the banks of the Columbia.

With the obstinacy with which he clung to this wagon the Doctor had a purpose. There was a belief that the mountains which encompassed Oregon were impassable for wheeled vehicles. Doctor Whitman had now satisfied himself that this was not the case. What he had done once with a single wagon he could do again if need be with a hundred. It was well that the experiment had been tried. From 1838 to 1842 missionary parties and emigrant families kept coming to Oregon and for the most part abandoned their wagons at Fort Hall, as they were told it was impossible to take them over the Blue Mountains. In every way the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company did their best to spread such reports and to discourage immigration. They lost no chance of asseverating that Oregon was not only inaccessible, but worthless when reached, at least so far as the needs of permanent settlers were concerned. The secret, however, was one that could not long be kept. It needed but a brief experience to teach the settlers that for agricultural purposes this country about the Columbia River was unsur-

passed if not unequaled in America. As the truth grew upon men's minds more families came across the Blue Mountains, and presently the Hudson's Bay Company, thoroughly alarmed, made up its mind to abandon its old-time policy and try to beat the American settlers at their own game. Colonizers were to be brought from Canada in overwhelming numbers. It was in October, 1842, that Doctor Whitman heard of the approach of such a colony of 140 persons. In a moment he grasped the fact in all its relations. The Ashburton Treaty was in progress and there was a possibility that it might terminate the joint occupation of Oregon and surrender the American claim. No time was lost. At once the stout Doctor decided to ride to Washington and lay the case before Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, and take such further measures as would bring wagons over the mountains, not singly, but by the hundred. Our thoughts again revert to New England and to Paul Revere's famous midnight ride, a gallop of twenty miles over the highway to send an alarm and forestall the British in their designs upon Concord.

Marcus Whitman's ride was likewise to send an alarm. It was a ride to forestall Great Britain in grasping an imperial domain. It was a midwinter ride of four thousand miles through forest and desert and over frightful mountain passes, amid frequent peril of cold and famine and hostile savages. It will be cited hereafter, side by side with the prodigious foot journey of La Salle, among the grand and stirring events in American history.

Striking far south into the Santa Fe trail, the Doctor reached St. Louis and thence made his way to our Federal Capital, where he arrived in March, 1843. The Ashburton Treaty had been completed in the preceding August, before he had started on this long journey and fortunately it had left the Oregon question for future adjustment. That delay gave the United States an immense advantage when next the question came up. Whitman's untiring zeal made it known that on the Columbia River was an empire worth saving. When he started westward in June, 1843, to return to his wife and friends, he led a train of two hundred emigrant wagons, not to be left behind at Fort Hall, but to keep on their way over the Blue Mountains. It was the vanguard of the era of occupation. Before three years had elapsed, there was an American population of nearly twelve thousand persons in Oregon, staunch men and women come to build up homes, the sturdy stuff of which a nation's greatness is made.

Here we may fitly end the story, for the title of the American people to the possession of the Oregon Territory, which was organized in the movement of the good ship Columbia, a century ago today, was practically consummated by the rush of immigrants half way between that time and the present, and when in the Treaty of 1846, the vast territory was amicably divided between Great Britain and the United States, we had little difficulty in keeping for ourselves the land upon which to erect the three goodly states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, besides the section that fills out the contour of Montana, and when we look at this country now, with its climate unsurpassed in all America, its scenery rivaling that of Switzerland or Italy, its noble forests, its fertile and smiling valleys, its boundless economical resources, and realize how all this has been made part of our common heritage, we are made to feel that the day we celebrate was indeed an auspicious day and worthy of an eminent place in our national calendar. All honor to the sagacious mariner who entered these waters a hundred years ago! All honor to the brave pioneers whose labors and sufferings crowned the good work. Through long ages to come theirs shall be a sweet and shining memory."

REVISION IN JOHN FISKE'S ORATION REFERRING TO THE
WHITMAN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

"In that same year (1832) four Flathead Indians made a pilgrimage to St. Louis, we are told, in search of the white man's Book of Salvation. What manner of patent medicine their savage heads may have fancied the sacred volume to contain, whether it would give them ample hunting grounds or ward off the dreaded tomahawk and still more dreaded incantations of the next hostile tribe, it would be hard to say. But the incident attracted the attention of some religious enthusiasts, and the vague plea of the Indians for help was put into a simple yet touching appeal for teachers to make known to them the white man's Book of Salvation. This appeal made a great impression upon two of the religious organizations of the country, the Methodists and the Presbyterians. The Methodists were the first to take action, and under the lead of Jason Lee, a type of the religious missionary and states-building pioneer, a Methodist mission was established in the Willamette Valley in 1834. In 1835 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the great missionary organization of the Congregationalists, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches—an organization which has exerted a powerful influ-

ence in the evangelization of the "waste places" of the earth—became interested in the spiritual welfare of the Oregon Indians and despatched the Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman on an overland tour of exploration and observation to the Oregon territory.

"Before they reached the territory they fell in with some returning traders and explorers, whose stories of Oregon and the Indians satisfied Parker and Whitman of the great need of a mission there; and for its more speedy establishment it was decided that Parker should go forward and locate the region of the mission, while Whitman should return to the East for helpers, and should endeavor to bring out some families, in order to make the home the nucleus for practical missionary work. Early in 1836 we therefore find Dr. Whitman back in the East, accompanied by two Indian boys, earnestly engaged in spreading information in regard to the missionary field in Oregon, setting forth the great need of helpers, urging people to engage in the work as one of the highest forms of Christian service, and making clear the ways and means of getting there.

"It is not my purpose, nor is this the occasion, to enter upon the discussion of the value of the services rendered to the building up of civil government in these imperial commonwealths by the devoted Methodist and American Board missionaries, who in advance of the great tide of immigration which rolled into the territory from 1842 to 1846, had settled and made their homes in the beautiful valleys of the Willamette and Walla Walla. They were indeed an heroic little band in this great wilderness.

"Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings.

"In 1839 the number of persons connected with the Methodist mission was seventy-seven, and the number connected with the other missions was sixteen, with twenty more on the way. In 1842 the latter had broadened its work to three stations—Waiilatpu, Lapwai and Chemakane. Few as were the missionaries in numbers, the missions themselves were radiating points from which went forth steady streams of information to the people of the East in regard to the attractive climate, the wonderful fertility of the soil and the great beauty of physical aspect. Then, too, when the great tide of immigration set in, the missions became welcoming stations, sweet havens of rest to the hardy pioneers after their perilous journeys across the plains and over the mountains. If in their

religious zeal the missionaries seemed to overlook the childish imperfections of the Indian's mind and tried to give him theological doctrines that were beyond his comprehension, the while presenting him with a system of Christian ethics which they were openly violating by taking to themselves his choicest lands, let it pass. The day of scientific ethnology had not come, and the proper way to civilize aboriginal man was not yet comprehended. With all their shortcomings, we well may honor these devoted servants of Christ who, braving every privation and danger that they might spread the gospel of salvation as they understood it, to the Indians, brought hither the Christian home and the school, and became no inconsiderable factors in wresting this fair and bounteous region from the hands of a giant monopoly.

"It is in evidence that about 1839 the Catholics made their presence felt among the Indians and the few Canadian settlers in the territory. The mystic rites of the Catholic service specially appealed to the Indian; and the priests, by the simplicity of their lives and by evidencing no disposition to take possession of the country for the benefit of white settlers, easily ingratiated themselves with the Indians, thereby arousing the hostility of the missionaries, and thus there was injected into the early settlement of the territory somewhat of the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants which for centuries has been the disgrace of Christendom. The incidents of this strife need not detain us further than to remark that the Indians for whose spiritual good both parties were ostensibly striving, were more or less demoralized by the un-Christian conduct of their teachers; and if in some instances they showed preference for the Catholics, it must be considered that the Catholics were not appropriating their lands.

"During this period neither the people nor the government of the United States were ignorant of, or idle in regard to, their interests in the Oregon territory. The report of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the diplomatic correspondence with England, the report of Commodore Wilkes, who visited the territory in 1840, on his return from Japan; the quite elaborate report of T. J. Farnham, who made extensive explorations in the territory in 1840 in behalf of proposed immigration from Illinois, the discussions in Congress and the letters of the missionaries, all had made known the exceeding richness of the territory and had aroused a widespread interest in it; and it was only waiting for the government to establish its authority in the territory by some understanding or treaty with

England, for a great tide of immigration to get in motion for the region on the Columbia River.

"It has been often stated, and by persons who should have known the facts in the case, that in 1842, when the Webster-Ashburton treaty took place between England and the United States with reference to our northeastern boundary, the northwestern boundary to the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast was deliberately put aside as of little consequence, and that our government then was so indifferent to the whole question that it stood ready to trade away our rights to the better portions of the Oregon Territory for some fishery considerations on the Atlantic Coast. Let us look at the facts.

"It is a matter of common knowledge that between nations possessing extensive unexplored regions of coterminous territory and enjoying much commercial intercourse, there frequently arise international issues of varying degrees of importance, which through prolonged negotiation get diplomatically grouped as a distinct and interrelated body of issues. The first treaty between England and the United States, in 1783, which had to be very general along main lines, left a number of questions of minor importance to be settled by the "logic of events" in the future intercourse between the two peoples who were henceforth to be independent of one another. Among the unsettled or undefined questions were: A definite boundary line between the Northern States and Canada; the rights of sovereignty on land and sea as between the two nations; the rendition of fugitives from justice; fishery rights along the Atlantic Coast; the right of search on board each other's ships, etc. These were prolific sources for disputes, and for over fifty years—in fact, from the very beginning of our government—some of the disagreements had existed, until the diplomatic intercourse between the two nations had become so completely befogged with the various projects and counter projects for their adjustment, that at the beginning of the administrations of Presidents Harrison and Tyler, in 1841, our foreign relations were in a very critical condition. Daniel Webster was Secretary of State. Wise, practical statesman that he was, he saw that the only way to a peaceful adjustment was by the balancing of equivalents; that is, by giving and taking on both sides. To this end he reduced the related issues to the fewest number, and these to their vital points. He found the Oregon boundary among questions at issue. He saw that this was an issue wholly unrelated to the other and more pressing ones, that it could afford to wait until its consideration

could be taken up entirely independent of other issues and settled on its own merits; that its introduction alongside the older and more pressing ones would inevitably lead to some unfavorable compromise on the Oregon issue itself, or compel an unfavorable compromise on the other issues in its behalf. He therefore rejected it entirely from consideration, and subsequent events fully justified his action in doing so. He was completely successful in adjusting the other issues in the memorable treaty of 1842; and four years later, when the Oregon Treaty came before the Senate, amicably proposing the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary line of the two governments in the territory, Mr. Webster was there as Senator from Massachusetts to give the treaty his hearty support. The history of the diplomatic negotiations between England and the United States over the Oregon boundary question shows that our government from the beginning maintained that the forty-ninth parallel was the proper boundary line, and that the keynote of Mr. Webster's policy was this line and nothing else. The people of the region of the Columbia, therefore, owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Webster for his wisdom in keeping the Oregon question distinct from the unrelated issues with which he had to deal in the perplexing negotiations of 1842.

"It would be pleasant on this occasion, if time permitted, to dwell upon some of the incidents and experiences of that great immigration into this territory which took place between 1841 and 1846, when the sovereign title to this fair domain passed peacefully and permanently into the hands of the United States.

"One of the most picturesque scenes in the early history of New England is the migration of Thomas Hooker and his church, in June, 1635, from Cambridge to the banks of the Connecticut River, where they forthwith made the beginnings of the town of Hartford. The picture of that earnest party in pursuit of a lofty purpose, a party of husbands and wives with their children, taking with them their cattle and their household goods and led by their sturdy pastor, the great founder of American democracy, is a very pleasant one. Mrs. Hooker being in poor health, was carried all the way on a litter. That was a pilgrimage of something more than one hundred miles, through a country not hard to traverse, under June skies. This Massachusetts pilgrimage in behalf of civil and religious liberty has long been a theme on which historians and liberal-minded people have loved to dwell. But how insignificant it appears in comparison with the great pilgrimage to Oregon,

which took place in 1843, and which virtually determined the destiny of this great region for all time to come! The story of this pilgrimage is yet to be told. It comprised an organization of nearly a thousand persons gathered principally from the states bordering on the Mississippi. It was made up largely of families with their children, taking with them their household goods and large numbers of horses and cattle. The journey was one of over two thousand miles across arid plains, broad and rapid rivers and over almost impassable mountains. Viewed in its historic aspect this was not merely a movement of individuals intent upon bettering their material condition. It was all this and more. It was the carrying of social and political organization from the region of the Mississippi to the region of the Columbia, and laying the foundations for civil government in the three imperial commonwealths that were to be.

"This great movement has suffered in its historic importance by being presented, not as the legitimate outgrowth of the social and political activity of the time which was carrying the "Star of Empire" westward, but rather as the result of the political labors of the American Board missionary—Dr. Marcus Whitman—that it was in fact but the culmination of his wise, far-seeing labors to save the territory from becoming exclusively a British possession through the machinations of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholics. So much has been written upon the "Saving of Oregon" by Dr. Whitman that a brief statement of his identification with the settlement of the territory and the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States to it, is admissible here.

"We have seen that Dr. Whitman and Mr. Spalding, acting under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, established a mission to the Indians in the Walla Walla Valley in 1836. It is evident that early in 1842 the Board was seriously exercised over the future of their mission. The Board was apprised of some dissensions within the mission itself, and of serious dangers surrounding it, arising from the growing hostility of the Indians, which it was alleged was secretly abetted by the Catholic priests as well as by the roving trappers and adventurers in the territory. Then, too, the discussion of the Oregon question in Congress and by the press was bringing the settlement of the territory, the establishment of civil government and the treatment of the Indians therein, into the political arena, where it was felt that the mission had no place. Accordingly, the officers

wisely decided to curtail the mission, with the evident purpose of withdrawing it altogether. In the spring of 1842 instructions were sent to Dr. Whitman to give up two of his stations, to have Mr. Spalding return to the East, and to concentrate the remaining mission force at one station.

"Dr. Whitman received these instructions in the latter part of September, 1842. He was greatly exercised over them. He at once called a council of his co-workers and laid before them the instructions of the board. The majority were at first in favor of complying with the orders of the Board, but Dr. Whitman took decided ground against such action. The people in Boston did not understand the situation. Great efforts and sacrifices had been made to establish the missions, and it was never so much needed as now, with the Papists active among the Indians, trying to undo the work that had been done, and the tide of immigration that was to control the destiny of the territory just setting in. The force of the mission should be increased rather than diminished; it should have an additional preacher, with the addition of five to ten Christian laymen, the latter to look after the material or business interests of the mission in dealing with the Indians and the immigrants. Dr. Whitman was a resolute, forceful man. He closed the discussion by announcing his purpose to start at once to Boston to present his views to the Board before any definite action was taken upon the instructions. His associates, seeing his determination, reluctantly acquiesced in his plan, which involved a perilous Winter journey over the mountains. This did not dishearten the resolute Doctor, and on the 3d of October, 1842, he set out on his journey. It was one of great privations and many hair-breadth escapes. He reached Boston the last of March, 1843. There is some question as to the manner of his reception by the officers of the Board. It would appear that his disobedience of orders and his crossing the continent to challenge in person the wisdom of the Board was not regarded with entire favor. It is said that his reception was chilly and that the Board refused to pay the expenses of the trip. Be that as it may, he succeeded in getting a suspension of the order recalling Mr. Spalding and curtailing the mission stations, and he was authorized to secure additional Christian laymen to assist in the practical work of the mission, providing this could be done "without expense to the Board or any connection with it." It does not appear that he succeeded in getting any addition to the missionary force.

"While in the East Dr. Whitman visited Washington. In view of the very great interest in Oregon, his evident purpose was to lay before the proper authorities his conclusions, derived from his experience, as to the practicability of a wagon route to the Columbia; and also to urge the desirability of the government establishing a mail route from the Missouri to the Columbia, with government posts or stations along the way, not only for protecting and aiding the immigrants, but also for the purpose of extending a measure of civil government over the vast region between these two rivers. In returning Dr. Whitman joined, in May, 1843, the great immigrant expedition to which I have referred and which he found completely organized and on its way when he reached the Missouri River. That he freely rendered valuable assistance to this expedition as pilot and counsellor during its long and arduous journey is not questioned. Such service was entirely consistent with his robust Christian character. But the claim put forward, many years after his death, that this whole expedition was the direct outgrowth of his efforts to save Oregon, that he organized it and heroically led it, with all its impedimenta of horses, cattle and wagons, that he might demonstrate to a doubting government at Washington the entire feasibility of such an undertaking, is wholly a fiction of the imagination. This expedition was the outgrowth of the westward movement of the American people in the development of their social and political life, and it would have occurred just as it did had Dr. Whitman never been born.

"The trip of Dr. Whitman to the East was not without its direful effects upon Dr. Whitman himself. His return, accompanied by such an army of occupation to appropriate their lands, aroused to greater fury than ever the bitter fury of the Indians. He became a marked man for vengeance. His God could not be on the Indians' side. In spite of sullen discontent and warnings, he and his devoted wife struggled valiantly at their post for four long years, when they were brutally murdered by the very Indians they were endeavoring to uplift and to save, and the mission came to an end.

"We do well on this commemorative occasion to honor the faithful missionary who endured severe privations, braved great dangers and fell a martyr to the missionary work to which he had devoted his life. But we should do him great injustice to ascribe to him projects of empire for which neither his words nor his acts give any warrant, which necessitate the appropriation to him of the labors of others and require

an entire misreading of our diplomatic history in regard to the territory of Oregon.

"To return to the immigration of 1843. After four months' arduous journey, this vanguard of the great army of occupation that was to follow, with its convoy of horses and cattle, reached Oregon, and its numbers spread themselves over the valleys of the lower Columbia and immediately set to work in true American fashion to establish homes and schools and to organize a provisional government of their own. Among them were a number of persons of great force of character, who gave the impress of their personalities upon the religious, industrial and political development of the territory. Having shown the way, and having demonstrated the complete feasibility of an overland route to Oregon, they were followed by other hardy pioneers from the States, and before three more years had passed there was an American population in the territory of over twelve thousand persons—no miscellaneous rabble of adventurers, but staunch and self-respecting men and women, come to build up homes—the sturdy stuff of which a nation's greatness is made.

"Here we come to the end of the story, for the title of the American people to the possession of the Oregon territory which was originated in the movements of the good ship Columbia a century ago was practically consummated by the rush of immigrants half-way between that time and the present. Title (in full measure) by occupation was thus added to title by discovery, and when in 1846 the question of sovereignty again came up for consideration between Great Britain and the United States the great territory was amicably divided and we had little difficulty in keeping for ourselves the land upon which to erect the three goodly states of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, besides the section that fills out the contour of Montana and Wyoming.

"Perhaps no one who has not visited this glorious country can adequately feel the significance of these beginnings of its history. When one has spent some little time in this climate—unsurpassed in all America—and looked with loving eye upon scenery rivaling that of Italy and Switzerland; when one has sufficiently admired the purple mountain ranges, the snow-clad peaks, the green and smiling valleys, the giant forests; when one has marvelled at the multifarious and boundless economic resources and realizes how all this has been made a part of our common heritage as Americans, one feels that this latest chapter in the discovery and occupation of our continent

is by no means the least important. All honor to the sagacious mariner who first sailed upon these waters a century ago! And all honor to the brave pioneers whose labors and sufferings crowned the work! Through long ages to come, theirs shall be a sweet and shining memory."

DOCUMENT
SLACUM'S REPORT ON OREGON
1836-7

Introductory note on the occasion of the Slacum Mission, the most helpful influence he exerted during his very brief stay in Oregon and the matters emphasized in his report.—
EDITOR QUARTERLY.

Just what impelled President Jackson in November, 1835, to seize an opportunity "to obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon or Columbia river" is not yet clear. Bancroft connects this move by the national executive with the publication by Hall J. Kelley of an account of the hardships suffered by Americans in Oregon through measures of the Hudson's Bay officials, represented as arbitrary and cruel; Marshall suggests that Captain Bonneville's report on this region at this time may have occasioned this step at Washington; the investigations of Dr. J. R. Wilson led him to look upon this effort of President Jackson to get light on the situation in Oregon as bound up with his larger scheme of acquisition of territory in the southwest, stretching from Texas to and including the harbor of San Francisco. Doctor Wilson came to this conclusion because Jackson's interest in this direction had in the first instance been aroused by letters from Slacum. The scope and character of the report suggest that the author had a pretty clear and full appreciation of all the vital American interests in the Oregon situation in the thirties.

"A full and accurate report" . . . "in regard to the country and its inhabitants" was desired, one including "all such information, political, physical, statistical and geographical as [might] prove useful and interesting to this government." Neither the magnitude of the task imposed, the failure of the government to supply an outfit, nor the mishaps encoun-

tered in entering upon his mission deterred Slacum. He seems to have advanced a large part, if not all, of the funds necessary for the undertaking.

The data he succeeded in collecting during some twenty days while he was on land in Oregon were repeatedly used in later committee reports to both the Senate and the House, "and referred to in debates in both houses as of the highest value."

While he was commissioned simply to observe what the situation in Oregon was, he seized every opportunity to improve conditions and was the leading factor in bringing the Oregon community up so that it was upon a higher plane because of his few days of wholesome functioning there. The success of the Oregon Cattle Company's undertaking made for peace as well as plenty. In bringing about an understanding, good will and co-operation, where feud, defiance and destructive tactics were developing, Slacum's visit to Oregon was a veritable godsend. Not the least of his good offices to the community was the assurance he gave the "Canadians" that their pre-emption rights would be recognized by the American Government.

What far-reaching national interests demanded did not escape him. He emphasized as strongly as Wilkes was to enforce a few years later the vital necessity of retaining Puget Sound as an American possession.

A mission like his into a region dominated by the representatives of another nation made his status not far different from that of a spy. Word of his coming gave this suggestion to those in authority at Fort Vancouver. Nevertheless, his bearing was such as put him immediately on terms of mutual deference with them. The many courtesies he enjoyed from them did not make him forget his duty to report faithfully those elements in the Oregon situation affecting American interests there, however much the seamy side thus brought to view reflected on the magnanimity of the Hudson's Bay Company authorities.

The fearful handicap put upon American enterprise on the Columbia by their monopoly tactics; their introduction of tar-

iff-free goods into distinctively American territory; their countenancing of Indian slavery; their exploitation of the fur-bearing resources of the region south of the Columbia, and the condition of commercial tutelage in which the tribes were held—all these things were pointed out as they were matters of vital concern to the authorities at Washington responsible for the welfare of the American citizen.

We all regret that he omitted a graceful and generous recognition of the aid given the Cattle Company by Dr. McLoughlin—something in the same vein as was his assurance that Captain Domines with the Owyhee was saved from an attack through the intervention of McLoughlin.

Sen. Ex. Doc. 24, 25th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. I.

MEMORIAL
OF
WILLIAM A. SLACUM

Praying

*Compensation For His Services in Obtaining Information in
Relation to the Settlements on the Oregon River.*

DECEMBER 18, 1837.

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and
Ordered to Be Printed.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United
States of America in Congress Assembled:*

The memorial of William A. Slacum.

RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS:

That he is a purser in the navy of the United States; that on the 12th of November, 1835, he received the communication (marked A) which accompanies this memorial, from the Secretary of State, by the direction of the President of the United States, charging him with the performance of a certain "commission" therein specified, to-wit.: "To obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon, or Columbia river;

and, generally, endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical as may prove useful or interesting to this Government."

That, on the 1st of June, 1836, your memorialist commenced to perform this commission. He left Guaymas, which is situated near the head of the Gulf of California, on that day, and proceeded to Petic. He arrived there on the 4th of the same month, and purchased mules, provisions, &c., for his journey to the Columbia river. These preparations being made, he was informed by the best authority that the land route to the Columbia was, at that season of the year, impracticable. (See letter No. 1.) Accordingly, he was compelled to abandon that attempt, and he returned to Guaymas, in the hope of being able to procure a vessel, by which to effect his object. There, so anxious was your memorialist to fulfil the trust confided to him, he chartered the only vessel he could procure, being a small boat of 12 tons burden, (and which had formerly been the long-boat of the ship James Monroe, of New York,) and in her he set sail for the Columbia river, on the 7th of July, 1836. (See letter No. 2.) After navigating about 400 miles in this frail boat, having been out in her 19 days, and been well-nigh lost, your memorialist was forced to put into Mazatlan in distress, and there abandon her. (See letter No. 3.) At the latter place your memorialist heard that a vessel was lying at La-Paz, Lower California, that was soon to sail for the Sandwich islands. This being now the only hope left of accomplishing his mission that year, your memorialist determined to proceed to the Sandwich islands in her, and there procure, if possible, a vessel to go into the Columbia. Accordingly, he sailed from La-Paz on the 10th October, (see letter No. 4,) and reached the Sandwich islands the 5th of November following. There he chartered the American brig Loriot, and set sail for the Columbia on the 24th of the same month. (See letter No. 5.) He arrived in the Columbia river on the 22d of December, 1836.

Your memorialist here begs leave to refer your honorable body to his memoir, which accompanies this memorial, (marked

B,) and which contains a full and true account of all that transpired during his presence in the Columbia river and its tributaries. It, together with the maps and charts which are herewith presented, and which make a part of the said memoir, comprises the result of your memorialist's laborious and perilous mission.

Having made this narrative of his operations, your memorialist begs leave to submit the following considerations to your notice:

1st. This undertaking was not in the tenor of his official duties. He was charged with its performance by the President's direction, through the Department of *State*.

2d. Although "the necessary and reasonable expenses" attending this mission were promised to be paid by the Government, your memorialist regrets to state, that engagement has not been entirely fulfilled. In the settlement of his accounts at the proper department, considerable deductions have been made, and refused to be allowed, from the amount of actual expenses paid by your memorialist, and which he humbly thinks ought to be allowed and repaid to him. (See papers marked C, and letters Nos. 6 and 7.)

3d. Your memorialist has not submitted any account against the Government for the expenses of preparing for the land journey to the Columbia river. He has exhibited no account for the freight, insurance, or interest of the moneys devoted by him to the public service; nor has he charged the United States with the money which he thought it prudent and politic to expend in presents to the natives, and others whom he visited. (Paper marked D contains the probable amount of these expenses.)

All the above-mentioned charges and expenses, which were incurred and paid by your memorialist for the benefit solely of his Government, he has not presented against it, because he had reasonably expected that the President, in consideration of the services he had rendered, would have made him a suitable compensation.

In this expectation your memorialist has been disappointed, and therefore he presents this memorial to your honorable body, with the request that, if you approve his services, you will indemnify him for the actual expenses he has paid in performing them; and will also make him whatever remuneration you may deem those services to merit from the Congress of the United States. And as in duty bound, your memorialist will ever pray, &c.

W. A. SLACUM.

A.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, November 11, 1835.

SIR: Having understood that you are about to visit the Pacific ocean, the President has determined to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded, to obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Oregon or Columbia river. In the belief that you will willingly lend your services in the prosecution of this object, I now give you, by the President's direction, such general instructions as may be necessary for your guidance in the execution of the proposed commission.

Upon your arrival on the northwest coast of America, you will embrace the earliest opportunity to proceed to and up the river Oregon, by such conveyances as may be thought to offer the greatest facilities for attaining the ends in view. You will, from time to time, as they occur in your progress, stop at the different settlements of whites on the coast of the United States, and on the banks of the river, and also at the various Indian villages on the banks, or in the immediate neighborhood of that river; ascertain, as nearly as possible, the population of each; the relative number of whites (distinguishing the nation to which they belong) and aborigines; the jurisdiction the whites acknowledge; the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States, and to the two European powers having possessions in that region; and, generally, endeavor to obtain all such information, political, physical, statistical, and geographical, as may prove useful or interesting

to this Government. For this purpose it is recommended that you should whilst employed on this service, keep a journal, in which to note down whatever may strike you as worthy of observation, and by the aid of which you will be enabled, when the journey is completed, to make a full and accurate report to this department of all the information you may have collected in regard to the country and its inhabitants.

Your necessary and reasonable travelling expenses will be paid from the beginning of your journey from the coast of the Pacific to the Columbia river, and till your return to this city. Vouchers, in all cases where it may be practicable to get them, will be required in the settlement of your account at the Treasury Department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH.

WILLIAM A. SLACUM, ESQ.

B

AMERICAN BRIG LORiot, OFF SAN BLAS,

March 26, 1837.

SIR: My letters from Guaymas, Mazatlan, and San Blas, up to the 10th of October last, will have acquainted you with the difficulties I encountered in endeavoring to get to the Columbia river by the route along the seacoast from Lower California, and also of my intention to proceed to the Sandwich islands to purchase a vessel to take me into the Columbia.

From information I received at Oahu, I considered it necessary to have a vessel under my entire control, in order to be independent of the Hudson Bay Company, (who have absolute authority over the inhabitants on either side of the river, and from whom alone the commonest wants or supplies could be procured;) at the same time to have a shelter under the flag of my country, from whence I might hold communications with the Indians and whites, and obtain the information required in the "Instructions" I had the honor to receive from the Department of State, of November 11, 1835. I have now

the honor to communicate the following account of my proceedings, and the result of my observations.

I left Oahu in the American brig *Loriot* on the 24th of November last, and on the 22d of December made Cape Disappointment, the northern point of entrance to the Columbia. The wind was high from the westward, and the bar presented a terrific appearance, breaking entirely across the channel from the north to the south shoals. The wind blowing directly on shore, and believing it would be impossible to work off against the heavy westwardly swell, we attempted the passage at twelve M., and crossed the bar safely, in not less than five fathoms, and anchored, at two o'clock, in Baker's bay.

I am thus particular because the idea generally prevails that the bar of the Columbia should never be crossed when it breaks. In the afternoon the wind strengthened to a gale but we were completely sheltered by Cape Disappointment.

About eight o'clock at night we were visited by a large canoe, containing twelve Indians of the Chenook tribe. The principal chief, *Chenamus*, and his wife, were of the party; they brought us wild fowl, ducks, geese, &c. The first question *Chenamus* asked on coming on board was "Is this King George or Boston ship?" *Chenamus* told us two vessels were lying at Fort George, distant fourteen miles, on the opposite side of the bay.

It was late in the afternoon of the 23d before we weighed, when we stood up the bay towards Fort George. We anchored at night opposite the fort, (at the entrance of the river formed by Chenook point and Point George,) distant five miles.

Early on the morning of the 24th, I crossed over in the boat to the fort, and found the ships alluded to by the Indians were the Hudson Bay Company's ships *Nereide* and *Llama*, both loaded and ready for sea; the former with the annual supply of goods suitable for the Indian trade at the Hudson Bay Company's depots along the coast at the north, from Pugitt's sound in 47° 30' north, to Fort Simpson, in 54° 40' north; the latter with a valuable cargo of British manufactures, bound to St. Francisco, California. Ascertained the Hudson Bay Company's

ship "Columbia" crossed the bar on the 26th of November, bound to London, with a valuable cargo of furs and peltries, valued at £80,000—\$380,000.

On the morning of the 25th, John Birnie, the Hudson Bay Company's trader at Fort George, doubtless with a view to inform the chief factors (Messrs. McLaughlin and Finlayson) of the appearance of the Lorient, despatched a canoe to Fort Vancouver. I availed myself of this opportunity to write to Mr. Finlayson, (a gentleman whom I had known formerly at the Sandwich islands,) requesting him to send me down a pilot and a stove, if to be procured at the fort.

The wind favoring, on the 26th we stood up the river, but made little progress against a strong current; the wind falling light, at night we were compelled to anchor.

On the 31st I received an answer from Mr. Finlayson, (by the pilot whom he sent down,) giving me a polite invitation to visit Fort Vancouver—was told that Mr. Douglass, one of the partners of the Hudson Bay Company, had come down the river. That gentleman, however, proceeded to Fort George by an inside passage; and I afterwards understood the chief object in his coming down was to inquire into the cause of my visit, as it was already known that the Lorient had no cargo on board. ing up against the wind, with but few hours slack tide; but

Up to this period we had made but little headway in work—this favored my landing daily, and visiting every Indian lodge and village on the river, from "Chenook" to "Oak point."

The next day, Mr. Douglass, returning from Fort George, called aboard the Lorient, and repeated the invitation given me by Mr. Finlayson, to visit Fort Vancouver; and, as there was but one more Indian settlement between this point and the Hudson Bay Company's establishment at Vancouver, I embarked with Mr. Douglass, in his canoe, with nine "Canadian voyageurs" [Sic]. We made about fifty miles in twenty-four hours, and landed next day at the fort, where I met a hospitable reception from Dr. John McLaughlin and Mr. Duncan Finlayson.

Political and statistical.—State of the country.—In 1670, a charter of Charles the 2d granted an exclusive trade to the governors and company of adventurers of London, trading into Hudson's bay. They were to have the sole trade and commerce of and to all the seas, bays and straights [Sic], creeks, lakes, rivers, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude, that lie within the straights commonly called Hudson's straights together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts of such seas, bays, and straights, which were possessed by any English subject, or subjects of any other Christian State together with the fishing for all sorts of fish, of whales, sturgeon, and all other royal fish, with the royalty of the seas. As late as 1825, this extensive charter had not received any parliamentary confirmation or sanction.

In consequence of the many difficulties and quarrels between the Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies, the British Government compelled them to merge their stock into one company, and they are now called the Hudson Bay Company. This coalition took place in 1821. It is therefore under the charter of the Northwest Company, if such exists, that the Hudson Bay Company now claim the exclusive right to, and the trade and commerce of, all the country from the north bank of the Columbia river, to 54° 40' north, *along the coast of the North Pacific ocean*, and from thence of all the country within three marine leagues of the coast *to the Frozen or Arctic sea*.

In 1818, when Fort George (Astoria) was formally given up by Captain Hickey, of his British Majesty's ship Blossom, and Judge Prevost and Captain Biddle, the American commissioners, had placed the customary placards declaratory of the event on Cape Disappointment and Point George, the question would scarcely have been asked by any of his British Majesty's subjects to whom the country of right belonged. Soon after the departure of the United States ship Ontario, Captain Biddle, the buildings at Fort George were destroyed by fire. It is said the act was committed by the Indians, who likewise took away the placards put up by the American commissioners.

The Northwest Company being at this time established at Fort George, (having purchased of Mr. John Jacob Astor, of New York, his interest in his trading establishment, called by him *Astoria*,) continued to trade with the Indians, and built a trading-house near the site of the old fort. This was kept up, first by the Northwest, and since by the Hudson Bay Company, to the present day. For several years previously to the coalition, however, the interior trade of both companies had become materially lessened by their vicious and destructive opposition to each other; but from *this period, the coalition*, in 1821, the now Hudson Bay Company have extended their enterprises over an extent of country almost incalculable.

I shall endeavor to point out the enterprise of this company, and the influence they exercise over the Indian tribes within our acknowledged lines of territory, and their unauthorized introduction of large quantities of British goods within the territorial limits of the United States.

Fort Vancouver, the principal depot of the Hudson Bay Company west of the Rocky mountains, stands on a gentle acclivity, four hundred yards from the shore, on the north bank of the Columbia, or Oregon river, about 100 miles from its mouth. The principal buildings are enclosed by a picket forming an area of 750 by 450 feet. Within the pickets, there are thirty-four buildings of all descriptions, including officers' dwelling-houses, workshops for carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, coopers, tanners, &c., all of wood except the magazine for powder which is of brick; outside and very near the fort there are forty-nine cabins for laborers and mechanics, a large and commodious barn, and seven buildings attached thereto; a hospital and large boat house on the shore, six miles above the fort. On the north bank, the Hudson Bay Company have erected a saw-mill on a never-failing stream of water that falls into the Columbia; cuts 2,000 to 2,400 feet of lumber daily; employs 28 men, chiefly Sandwich Islanders, and ten yoke of oxen; depth of water, four fathoms at the mill where the largest ships of the company take in their cargoes for the Sandwich islands market.

The farm at Vancouver contains, at this time, about 3,000 acres of land, fenced and under cultivation, employing generally 100 men chiefly Canadians and half-breed Iroquois; the mechanics are Europeans. These, with the factors, traders, clerks, and domestics, may be estimated at thirty. The laborers and mechanics live outside the fort in good log cabins—two or three families generally under one roof; and as nearly every man has a wife, or lives with an Indian or half-breed woman, and as each family has from two to five slaves, the whole number of persons about Vancouver may be estimated at 750 to 800 souls. The police of the establishment is as strict as in the best regulated military garrison. The men are engaged for the term of five years, at the rate of £17 to £15 per annum; but, as the exchange is reduced to currency at the rate of five shillings to the dollar, the pound sterling is valued at \$4; hence, the price of labor is \$5 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ to \$6 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per month.

The ration consists of eight gallons of potatoes and eight salt salmon a week per man, in winter, and peas and tallow in summer; no bread or meat allowed by the company at any time. Out of this ration, each man has to support himself and family, or make his *Indian slaves* hunt and fish for their support.

The farm at Vancouver has produced this year, 8,000 bushels of wheat, 5,500 bushels of barley, 6,000 bushels of oats, 9,000 bushels of peas, 14,000 bushels of potatoes, besides large quantities of turnips, (rutabaga,) pumpkins, &c. About 6,000 bushels of wheat, of the old crop, remain on hand this year.

Stock consists of about 1,000 head of neat cattle, 700 hogs, 200 sheep, 450 to 500 horses, and 40 yoke of working oxen. There is a large threshing machine, distillery, (not at present in operation,) and a grist-mill. In short, the farm is abundantly supplied with all the requisite utensils for a much larger establishment; and it will be much increased the ensuing year. A thriving orchard is also planted; the apple, quince, pears, and the grape grow well.

Trades, &c.—A large ship arrives annually from London, and discharges at Vancouver; cargo, chiefly coarse woollens, cloths, baizes, and blankets; hardware, cutlery, calicoes, cottons;

and cotton handkerchiefs; tea, sugar, coffee, and cocoa; tobacco, soap, beads, guns, powder, lead, rum, playing cards, boots, shoes, ready-made clothing, &c., &c.; besides every description of sea stores, canvass [Sic], cordage, paints, oils, chains and chain cable, anchors, &c., to refit the company's ships that remain on the coast. These are the ship *Nereide*, the brig *Llama*, the schooner *Cadborough*, and sloop *Broughton*; the steamboat *Beaver*, of 150 tons, two engines of thirty horse power each, built in London last year. These vessels are all well armed and manned; the crews are engaged in England, to serve five years, at £2 per month for seamen. The London ship, with the annual supply, usually arrives in the Columbia in early spring, discharges, and takes a cargo of lumber to the Sandwich islands; returns in August to receive the furs that are brought to the depot (Fort Vancouver) once a year, from the interior, via the Columbia river, from the Snake country, and from the American rendezvous west of the Rocky mountains, and from as far south as St. Francisco, in California. Whilst one of the company's vessels brings in the collections of furs and peltries made at the different depots along the coast at the north, (see map,) the steamboat is now being employed in navigating those magnificent straights from Juan de Fuca to Stickeen. Immense quantities of furs, sea otter, beaver, martin and sable can be collected along the shores of these bays and inlets. The chief traders at Nasquallah, in 47° 30', Fort Langley, in 49° 50', Fort McLaughlin, in 52° 10', Fort Simpson, in 54° 40' north purchase all the furs and peltries from the Indians in their vicinity and as far as New Caledonia in the interior, and supply them with guns, powder, lead, tobacco; beads, &c.; all of which supplies are taken from the principal depot at Fort Vancouver.

An express, as it is called, goes out in March, annually, from Vancouver, and ascends the Columbia 900 miles in batteaux. One of the chief factors or chief traders, takes charge of the property, and conveys to York factory, on Hudson's bay, the annual returns of the business conducted by the Hudson Bay Company west of the Rocky mountains, in the Columbia dis-

trict. This party likewise conveys to the different forts along the route, (see map,) goods suitable to the Indian trade; other parties take up supplies, as they may be required, to Walla-wallah, 250 miles above Vancouver; to Colville, 600 miles above; to the fort at the junction of Lewis's river, 700 miles above; and to the south to the Fort McRoys, on the river Umpqua, in latitude $43^{\circ} 50'$ north: and last year, chief trader McLeod took up to the American rendezvous, in about latitude 43° north, a large supply of British manufactures. This assemblage of American trappers and hunters takes place annually on the western side of the Rocky mountains, generally in the month of July, and amounts from 450 to 500 men, who bring the result of their year's labor to sell to the American fur traders. These persons purchase their supplies for the trappers at St. Louis; though, after being subject to the duties on these articles, (chiefly of British manufacture,) they transport their goods about 1,400 miles by land, to sell to citizens of the United States within our acknowledged lines of territory. Last year, they met a powerful opponent, in the agent of this foreign monopoly, chief trader McLeod, who could well afford to undersell the American fur trader *on his own ground*—first, by having the advantage of water communication on the Columbia and Lewis's rivers for a distance of 700 to 800 miles; and, secondly, by introducing the goods free of duty, which is equal to at least twenty-five to thirty per centum: but a greater evil than this exists in the influence the Hudson Bay Company exercises over the Indians, by supplying them with arms and ammunition, which may prove, at some future period, highly dangerous to our frontier settlements. Besides this the policy of this company is calculated to perpetuate the institution of slavery, which now exists, and is encouraged, among all the Indian tribes west of the Rocky mountains.

I shall refer to this more particularly hereafter. From what I have seen, I feel perfectly satisfied that no individual enterprise can compete with this immense foreign monopoly established in our own waters; for instance, an American vessel, coming from New York or Boston to trade on the northwest

coast or the Columbia, would bring a cargo chiefly of British manufactures, on which the duties had been paid; or, if the cargo was shipped for drawback, the vessel would have to enter some other port to discharge and reload, in order to get the benefit of the debenture certificates; whereas the Hudson Bay Company's vessels come direct from London, discharge at Vancouver, pay no duty, nor are they subject to the expense and delay of discharging and reloading in a foreign port.

Since the year 1828, a party of forty to fifty trappers, (Canadians,) with their women, slaves, &c., generally amounting to 150 to 200 persons and 300 horses, go out from Vancouver, towards the south, as far as 40° north latitude. These parties search every stream, and take every beaver skin they find, regardless of the destruction of the young animals: excesses, too, are unquestionably committed by these hunting parties on the Indians; and every small American party (save one) that has passed through the same country has met defeat and death. The parties being much smaller than those of the Hudson Bay Company, the Indians attack them with success; and the Americans hesitate not to charge the subordinate agents of the Hudson Bay Company with instigating the Indians to attack all other parties.

In 1829, the American brig Owyhee, Captain Domines, of New York, entered the Columbia, and commenced trading with the Indians for beaver skins and peltries. In the course of nine months Captain Domines procured a cargo valued at *ninety-six thousand dollars*. It happened that this year the fever that has since desolated the Columbia from the falls to Oak point appeared, and Dr. McLaughlin, the chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company, with all the gravity imaginable, informed me the Indians to this day believe that Domines, of the "*Boston ship*," brought the fever to the river. How easy was it for the Hudson Bay Company's agents to make the Indians believe this absurdity, for reasons, too, the most obvious! Domines was daily assailed with reports that the Indians intended attacking him when his vessel was lying at the rapids of the *Willhamett*, alias the "*Maltonomah*," of Lewis and Clark. The

Rev. Jason Lee told me Dr. McLaughlin had informed *him* that the principal chief of the Willhamett tribe had proposed to cut off the Owyhee, doubtless thinking it would prove agreeable to the Hudson Bay Company. Dr. McLaughlin, of course, forbid the measure.

The Indians are taught to believe that no vessel but the "Company's" ships are allowed to trade in the river; and most of them are afraid to sell their skins but at Vancouver or Fort George; of this I had positive evidence from the Indians themselves, as well as from a remark made by chief trader, McLeod, aboard the "Llama" in Baker's bay. It was mentioned in the course of conversation that a Madam "Perand," wife of one of the Canadian settlers on the Willhamett, had just come in with twenty to thirty fine beaver skins. Some one of the party remarked, turning towards Captain Bancroft, of the *Loriot*, "there is a fine chance for a bargain." Mr. McLeod quickly replied—"d—n the skins shall Madam 'Perand' sell to cross the bar of the *Columbia*." This was said in the presence of Captains McNeil, Bancroft, Brotchie, Rd. Bevvie, and myself.

The next American vessel that entered the river after the Owyhee and her consort, the "Convoy," was the brig "Mary Dane," [May Dacre] of Boston. She arrived in 1835, to procure a cargo of salmon. In consequence of some arrangement, the cause of which I am unacquainted with, Mr. Wyeth, the owner and agent, agreed not to purchase furs, provided Dr. McLaughlin would throw no impediment in his way of procuring salmon. This enterprise failed; only 800 to 900 pounds of salmon were obtained.

Stock, &c. of the Hudson Bay Company, is held in shares, (100.) Chief traders and chief factors who reside in America, are called partners. Chief factors are entitled to one-eighth of one share, or rather the profits arising from the same, equal to about \$4,500 to \$5,000 per annum. Chief traders one-sixteenth, or half the above amount, \$2,250 to \$2,500. They are not stockholders in perpetuity, as they cannot sell out as other stockholders but have only a life estate in the general stock.

A council annually assembles at "York Factory," where reports from the different "districts," east and west of the Rocky mountains are read and recorded, and their proceedings forwarded to London, to the "Hudson Bay house." Chief factors and chief traders hold a seat at this council board, and Governor Simpson presides. It is here that every new enterprise is canvassed, expense and probable profits carefully inquired into, as each member feels a personal interest in every measure adopted. If it is ascertained that in certain "districts" the quantity of beaver diminishes, the trappers are immediately ordered to desist for a few years, that the animals may increase, as the wealth of the country consists in its furs; and so strict are the laws among many of the northern Indian tribes that to kill a beaver out of season, (*i. e.* in the spring or summer,) is a crime punished with death. The enforcement of this law is strongly encouraged by the Hudson Bay Company. Not so careful, however, are the company of the territory not their own; on the contrary, they have established, a fort and trading house called "McRoy's Fort," on the river Umpqua, in 43° 50'. This fine stream falls into the Pacific, (but is not laid down in any printed map;) ten thousand beaver skins are collected here, and double this amount brought out of the country adjacent, within our lines; and the Indians are encouraged to "*trap* the *streams*" at all seasons; from Wallawallah, Lewis's river, and the Snake country, all lying between 42° and 46° north latitude, 50,000 skins are collected. The price of a beaver skin in the "Columbia district" is ten shillings, \$2, payable in goods at 50 per cent on the invoice cost. Each skin averages one and a half pound, and is worth in New York or London \$5 per pound; value \$7 50. The beaver skin is the circulating medium of the country.

Indian slavery.—The price of a slave varies from eight to fifteen blankets. Women are valued higher than men. If a slave dies within six months of the time of purchase, the seller returns one-half the purchase money. As long as the Hudson Bay Company permit their servants to hold slaves, the institution of slavery will be perpetuated, as the price, eight to

fifteen blankets, is too tempting for an Indian to resist. Many instances have occurred where a man has sold his own child. The chief factor at Vancouver says the slaves are the property of the women with whom their workmen live, and do not belong to *men* in their employ, although I have known cases to the contrary. We shall see how this reasoning applies. These women, who are said to be the owners of the slaves, are frequently bought themselves by the men with whom they live, when they are mere children; of course they have no means to purchase, until their husbands *or their men* make the purchase from the proceeds of their labor; and *then* these women are considered the ostensible owners, which neither lessens the traffic, nor ameliorates the condition of the slave, whilst the Hudson Bay Company find it to their interest to encourage their servants to intermarry or live with the native women, as it attaches the men to the soil, and their offspring (half breeds) become in their turn useful hunters and workmen at the different depots of the company. The slaves are generally employed to cut wood, hunt, and fish, for the families of the men employed by the Hudson Bay Company, and are ready for any extra work. Each man of the trapping parties has from two to three slaves, who assist to hunt, and take care of the horses and camp; they thereby save the company the expense of employing at least double the number of men that would otherwise be required on these excursions.

After passing ten days at Fort Vancouver, and visiting the Indian lodges near the farm, &c. finding it would be impossible to get a party to accompany me at this season of the year across the mountains, I determined to visit the only white settlement on the river Willhamett, the Multonomah of Lewis and Clark. On the morning of the 10th January, having been furnished by Dr. McLaughlin with a canoe and six men, and all the necessaries for the voyage, I left Fort Vancouver to ascend the Willhamett. I shall withhold a description of this beautiful river for the present. On the night of the 11th, I passed the falls thirty miles distant. On the 12th, at midnight, I reached "Camp Maud du Sable," the first white settlement on

the river. My men had been in the canoe paddling against a strong current for twenty-two hours, without any intermission except in making the portage at the falls. "Camp Maud du Sable" is distant about fifty-five miles from the Columbia, running nearly due South. The first settler was "Jean Baptiste Deshortez McRoy," who came to the country with the American Fur Company in 1809, (Astor's company.) McRoy pitched his tent permanently at this place, six years since. For the first two years he was almost alone; but within four years past the population has much increased, and is now one of the most prosperous settlements to be found in any new country.

The Rev. Jason Lee, missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of New York, having heard through Dr. McLaughlin of my intention to visit the Willhamett settlement, politely came down from the mission house, distant eighteen miles, to meet me at this place. In company with this gentleman, I called on all the settlers in the lower settlement, and next day visited the mission house and upper settlement. No language of mine can convey an adequate idea of the great benefit these worthy and most excellent men, the Messrs. Jason and Daniel Lee, Messrs. Shephard and Edwards, their assistants, have conferred upon this part of the country, not by precept, but *example* as I think the following result of their labors will show.

To use Mr. Jason Lee's own words, "it was after having heard that an Indian, of the Flat Head tribe had crossed the Rocky mountains to inquire of Governor Clark, at St. Louis, about the *God* that the pale faces worshipped, that first led me to think of establishing a 'mission' west of the mountains." Two years since, last October, Mr. Lee's party encamped on the ground where their dwelling now stands, immediately on the banks of the "Willhamett." They commenced felling timber with their own hands, and by Christmas they erected the frame of their house and had it half covered in, and fenced 24 acres of land. In the spring they put in a crop which produced the first year, 1835,

	150	bushels	of	wheat,
	35	do.	of	oats,
	56	do.	of	barley,
	87	do.	of	peas,
	250	do.	of	potatoes.
2d year, 1836:				
	500	bushels	of	wheat,
	200	do.	of	peas,
	40	do.	of	oats,
	30	do.	of	barley,
	4½	do.	of	corn,
	3½	do.	of	beans,
	319	do.	of	potatoes,

with a full supply of garden vegetables. They have built a good barn, added to their dwelling-house, which now consists of four large rooms, 18 by 20 feet, lofts and cellar, have a good garden and 150 acres of land enclosed under good fencing. With the exception of three months' hired labor of a carpenter to finish the inside of their dwelling and make tables, forms, &c. for their school room, the above is the work of these pious and industrious men, assisted by the Indian children of the school. Their family at present consists of 3 adults, and 19 full blooded, and 4 half breed Indian children, 10 of whom are orphans. 7 girls and 15 boys attend the school; likewise 8 half breeds' children of the neighboring settlers. The children are all taught to speak English. Several of them read perfectly well. They are all well clothed and fed, and are already very cleanly in their habits. The larger boys work on the farm in fine weather. They can plough, reap, and do all ordinary farm work well. Several of them evince good mechanical genius. Mr. Lee assures me that most of the boys have earned their board, clothing, and tuition, estimating their labor at the lowest rate of wages allowed by the Hudson Bay Company. Their school and family could be much increased, but they do not wish to add to their number until they receive further assistance, thinking it the wisest plan at present, for the sake of example, to attend strictly to the mental and physical instruction of these "Neophytes."

The land on which the mission house is established is rich alluvial deposite, open prairie, interspersed with good timber. Mr. Lee acknowledges the kindest assistance from Dr. McLaughlin, of Fort Vancouver, who gave him the use of horses, oxen, and milch cows, and furnished him with all his supplies. Indeed Dr. McLaughlin has acted towards many of the settlers in the same manner, giving them the use of cattle and horses on the following terms: The *produce* of the neat cattle and horses belong to the Hudson Bay Company, and are liable to be called for at any time. If the cattle die, the persons holding them are not charged with their value. Horses to be returned in kind, or the sum of \$8, the current value of the horse, is charged.

To convey an idea of the industry and progress of the Willamett settlement, I beg to refer to paper B. It would be doing the Messrs. Lee and their associates injustice, were I to omit speaking of their successful and happy efforts in establishing a temperance society among men who are generally considered as being almost without the pale of moral restraint, (I mean trappers;) and it affords me great pleasure to add, that every white man in the settlement entertains the highest respect for the character and conduct of the Lees and their associates. This circumstance is sufficient evidence of their worth. Papers C and D will show their laudable efforts in arresting this destructive element, the white man's poison, the Indian's *certain death*. The case of Ewing Young, referred to in paper C, will be understood by his statement E, and some verbal explanations which I shall make in relation to his case.

After duly considering the great benefit that would result to this thriving country if the distillery of Ewing Young could be prevented from being put into operation, and inasmuch as he candidly admitted it was nothing but sheer necessity that compelled him to adopt the measure, I told him (Young) that I thought he had gained his point without adopting the expedient that produced it, as I was authorized by Mr. Finlayson to say, "if he would abandon his enterprise of distilling whiskey, he could be permitted to get his necessary supplies from Fort Van-

couver, on the same terms as other men;" and further: I propose to loan him \$150, get him a supply of decent clothing from the fort, in my name, and give himself and his partner, Carmichael, a passage to California as he informed me he was exceedingly anxious to go thither to clear himself of the calumny that General Figaroa, had through Dr. McLaughlin, circulated against him, producing in effect the most unjustifiable persecution. Mr. Young seemed deeply sensible of my offer: said a cloud hung over him so long, through Dr. McLaughlin's influence, that he was almost maddened by the harsh treatment he had received from that gentleman. I left him under a promise of receiving an answer to my proposition next day. In the course of conversation with Mr. Lee, Young, and other settlers, I found that nothing was wanting to insure comfort, wealth, and every happiness to the people of this most beautiful country but the possession of neat cattle, all of those in the country being owned by the Hudson Bay Company, who refuse to sell them under any circumstances whatever. I then proposed to give to as many of the settlers as chose to embark in the Lorient, a free passage to California, where they might procure cattle at \$3 per head. The advantage of being landed in California or Bodega free of expense, and the risk of the road, was very great. A meeting was accordingly held in the lower settlement, where the paper F was drawn up. Mr. Young was appointed leader of the party. All the settlers who had money due them from the Hudson Bay Company contributed to the enterprise. Ten men embarked in the Lorient, and were landed safely at Bodega, on the 20th February. I advanced Mr. Lee \$500. This sum, added to the contributions of the settlers, produced \$1,600, a sum sufficient to purchase five hundred head of cattle in California. I will here remark that when I parted with Mr. Young, at Monterey, on the 2d March, he had every prospect of procuring all the cattle required, on the north side of the bay of St. Francisco. He had likewise received propositions from several Americans residing at California to return with him to the Willhamett with their stock of cattle, thus doubly reinforcing the settlement from this ac-

cession the party will receive in California. They will doubtless reach the Willhamet safely in June, the distance by the coast of the Pacific being about six hundred miles. The men are all experienced woodsmen. I certainly view this measure as one of the highest importance to the future growth and prosperity of this fine country, even if no other object is attained by my visit to the Columbia.

A large cargo of wheat, five thousand five hundred bushels, could at this time be procured from the settlers on the Willhamett. It would find a good market at the Sandwich islands, the Russian settlements at Norfolk sound, (Sitka,) or in Peru; but some steps must be taken by our Government to protect the settlers and the trader, not from the hostility of the Indians, but from a much more formidable enemy, that any American trading house establishing itself on the Willhamet or Columbia would have to encounter, in the Hudson Bay Company. All the Canadian settlers have been in the service of the company; and from being for a long time subject to the most servile submission to the chiefs of the monopoly, are now, although discharged from the service of the company, still blindly obedient to the will of those in authority at Vancouver, who, on their part, urge the plea that, by the legislative enactments of Canada, they are prohibited from discharging their servants in the Indian country. Therefore they consider the people of the Willhamett although freemen in every sense of the word still subject to the *protection* and authority, otherwise *thralldom* of the *Hudson Bay Company*—it being only necessary for the authorities at Vancouver to say, “if you disobey my orders, your supplies shall be cut off;” and the settler knows at once that his few comforts, nay, necessities of life, are stopped, rendering him more miserable than the savage that lurks around his dwelling.

At the public meeting that took place at “Camp Maud du Sable” on the subject of the expedition to California the liveliest interest appeared to be felt when I told the “Canadians” that, although they were located within the territorial limits of the United States, their pre-emption rights would doubtless

be secured them when our Government should take possession of the country. I also cheered them with the hope that ere long some steps might be taken to open a trade and commerce with the country. They now only find a market for their wheat, after being compelled to transport it themselves in canoes, (the *portage* of the Willhamett in their way,) at Fort Vancouver, at the low price of 50 cts. per bushel, payable in goods at 50 per cent. advance, whilst the Russians are paying \$1 50 this year in California for their supplies for "Sitka." The quantity annually required is about 25,000 bushels.

The entrance of the Columbia river is formed by Cape Disappointment on the north, in latitude $46^{\circ} 19'$ north, and $123^{\circ} 59'$ west longitude, and Point Adams, on the south, in $46^{\circ} 14'$ north and $123^{\circ} 54'$ west longitude, physical and geographical.

It was between the years 1780 and 1782,¹ I believe, that Captain Meir [Meares] in an English merchant ship of London, saw "Cape Disappointment," and entered the bay between the two capes; but, as "Chenook" and "Tongue point" interlock, Captain Meir [Meares] left the bay under the impression that it extended no further inland. He published an account of his voyage in London, in 1785—1786, on his return, and called the bay Deception bay. The next year, 1783 to 1784, Captain Gray, of Boston, in the American ship "Columbia" entered the bay and stood up the river as far as the point designated on the map as Gray's bay, where he overhauled and refitted his ship. Captain Gray called the river the "Columbia," after his ship. In 1787, Vancouver entered the river, and Lt. Broughton, in the cutter Chatham, stood up the river as far as the bluff, (the old site of Fort Vancouver,) about one mile distant from the site of the present fort. But the Spaniards had doubtless a knowledge of this country long before this period. The expedition from San Blas, in 1776, saw the river, and called it the "Oregon." (Manuscripts in the marine archives at Madrid.) The

¹ Lieut. Slacum was writing without his authorities at hand so should not have allowed himself to venture with any dates.—Ed. Quarterly.

Russian expedition under Behring, in 1741, did not come as far south as Cape Flattery, in 49° north. As I have not the means at present of giving any further information of the early discovery of this part of the country, I shall now speak of its present appearance, &c., begging to claim your attention to the maps of the Columbia and the country south as far as the Russian settlements as Bodega.

In entering the Columbia river, you find a bar extending across the channel, (two miles in width,) from the north to the south shoals. The shoalest water on the bar is four and a half fathoms; but as the prevailing winds in winter are from the westward, and the entrance lies exposed to the swell of the Pacific ocean, the bar breaks with a wind of any force if from the west of north or south and west of east. At present, vessels are kept outside for several days waiting for clear weather to run in, having neither beacon, buoys, nor lights to guide them when close in with the shore. This delay would be obviated in a great measure if the coast was surveyed and properly lighted. "Cape Disappointment" is a high, bold promontory, about 400 feet above the sea, covered with timber from its base to the top. "Point Adams" is low, and cannot be seen at a great distance. The sailing directions which I shall be able to present with a chart of the river, will more fully explain the appearance of the bay and river. As far as the depth of water is marked on the chart, it may be fully relied on. I cannot leave this subject without pointing out the great facility and the advantages that would result from a thorough *cut* of not more than three-quarters of a mile through the lowest point of the Cape Disappointment, from Baker's bay to the ocean. The soil is light, and the height not more than sixty feet at the point proposed; and I have not the slightest doubt that a deep and safe channel would soon be made by the action of the tide (at the rate of five to six knots an hour) as it sweeps around the bay, bringing with it the whole volume of water of the Columbia and its tributaries.

Every thing around the shores of Baker's bay shows the richness of the soil. The pines, firs, and the most beautiful

variety of flowers, grow to an extraordinary size, whilst the finest grasses are seen at this season fringing the sides of the hills to the water's edge. For the first ten miles, as you ascend the Columbia from Chenook and Point George, which may, properly speaking, be called the mouth of the river, its width is about four miles. It then narrows to about one mile, and continues at this width to Vancouver, (with but two exceptions, for a mile or two.) At "Oak Point" village, the oak is first seen: from thence the oak, ash, laurel, cotton wood, beach, alder, pines, firs, yew, and cedar, are found to the falls. Geological formations at Fort George are concretions of shells, sandstone, and plumbago. On the Willhamett, remarkably fine gray granite is found.

Indian statistics.—The first tribes of Indians in Baker's bay, are the Chenook on the north, Clatsops on the south. The latter live at Point Adams and on Young's river, where Lewis and Clark wintered. Both tribes at this time do not exceed 800. Rum Rumley [Concomly] the principal chief of the Clatsops, who was always the white man's friend, and who rendered every assistance in his power to Lewis and Clark, is no more; and, as an evidence of the effect of intemperance among these miserable Indians, out of 40 descendants of this chief not one is this day alive. Chenamas (Chenook) claims authority over the people from "Baker's bay" to the Cowility [Cowlitz]; but Squamaqui disputes his authority from Gray's bay to the above point. From the river Cowility to the falls of the Columbia, (see map,) "Kassenow" claims authority. His tribe, since 1829, has lost more than 2,000 souls by fever. They are principally "Rea Ratacks," very erratic, and the only good hunters on the river below the falls, as all the other tribes immediately on the river below the falls, as well as those who frequent the waters of the Columbia during the season of the salmon and sturgeon, subsist chiefly on fish and wild fowl; and the ease with which they procure food, fish, and fowl, with the delicious vegetables the "Wapspitoo" [Wapato] and "Kamass" engenders the most indolent habits among these people.

Willhamett or Multonomah tribes live in the valley formed by the range of mountains, running north and south, in which Mount Hood and Mount Vancouver is laid down in Arrow-smith's map, (sometimes called the Klannet range, from the Indians of that name,) and on the west by the Kallamook and Yamstills, running south parallel with river and ocean. In ascending this beautiful river, even in midwinter, you find both sides clothed in evergreen, presenting a more beautiful prospect than the Ohio in June. For 10 to 12 miles, on the left bank, the river is low, and occasionally overflows. On the right the land rises gradually from the water's edge, covered with firs, cedar, laurel, and pine. The oak and ash is at this season covered with long moss, of a pale sage green, contrasting finely with the deeper tints of the evergreens.

The first tribe of Indians are the Kallamooks, on the left bank, on a small stream of the same name, 30 miles from its mouth: 2d are Keowewallahs, alias *Tummewatas* or Willhametts. This tribe, now nearly extinct, was formerly very numerous, and live at the falls of the river, 32 miles from its mouth, on the right bank. They claim the right of fishing at the falls, and exact a tribute from other tribes who come hither in the salmon season (from May till October). Principal chiefs deceased. This river at the present day takes its name from this tribe. 3d. "Kallapooyahs" occupy lodges on both sides of the river. 4th. "Fallatrahs" on a small stream of same name, right or west bank. 5th. Champoicho—west bank. 6th. Yamstills—west bank. 7th. Leelahs—both sides. 8th. Hanchoicks. All these five tribes speak Kallapooyah dialect, and are doubtless of that tribe, but at present are divided as designated, and governed by chiefs as named. All these tribes do not exceed 1200. The ague and fever, which commenced on the Columbia in 1829, likewise appeared on this river at the same time. It is supposed that it has been more fatal in its effects. It has swept off not less than 5000 to 6000 souls. In a direction still further south, in Tulare, near St. Francisco, California, entire villages have been depopulated. I am happy to add, however, that this

scourge to these poor Indians is disappearing. The above named constitute all the Indians to be found on the Willhamett, from its source in the mountains to its entrance into the Columbia, a distance of about 200 miles.

The brig Owyhee, Captain Domines, moored at the rapids about a mile below the falls, in 12 feet water. Above the falls there is doubtless steamboat navigation for 150 miles. For a distance of 250 miles in extent by 40 in breadth, including both sides the river (6,500,000 acres) the land is of the most superior quality, rich alluvial deposit, yielding in several instances the first year 50 bushels of fine wheat to the acre. The general aspect of the plains is prairie, but well interspersed with woodlands, presenting the most beautiful scenery imaginable. The pastures at this day (12th January) are covered with the richest grasses, 8 to 12 inches high. I should be almost afraid to speak of the extraordinary mildness of the climate of this country, were I not enabled to present you thermometrical observations at Vancouver and Fort Simpson, in 52° north, and Bodega, in 39°. I may fairly state the difference to be equal to 15° of latitude between the coasts of the west and east of this continent. It is to be kept in view, that the Willhamett is due south from the Columbia. I found on my return to Vancouver, on the 19th January, that snow had fallen, and the river was closed with floating ice, that had come down and blocked up the passage. Although I was not more than 70 to 80 miles south, I neither saw snow nor ice.

I consider the Willhamett as the finest grazing country in the world. Here there are no droughts, as on the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the plains of California, whilst the lands abound with richer grasses, both in winter and summer. In 1818, the Hudson Bay Company had one bull and two cows; last year they salted 70, and have now upwards of 1,000 head of neat cattle from this stock. No comment is necessary in presenting this fact to your notice. The low grounds of the Columbia overflow, and the highlands are covered with timber of great size, which would require immense labor in clear-

ing. Fort Vancouver is the only spot, from Fort George upwards, where a farm of any size could be opened.

From the map of the country south of the Columbia, which I shall be able to prepare from the rough though correct sketches in my possession, you will discover there are four rivers which fall into the Pacific ocean between $41^{\circ} 33'$ north latitude and Columbia. Three of these, with "Pelican bay," in latitude $42^{\circ} 4'$ north, are within the limits of the United States, but are not laid down in any *published chart* of the present day.

Klamet river, $41^{\circ} 33'$ north latitude, $123^{\circ} 54'$ west longitude.

West "Rougues" river, $42^{\circ} 26'$ north latitude, $124^{\circ} 14'$ west longitude.

West Cowis [Coos] river, $43^{\circ} 31'$ north latitude, $124^{\circ} 4'$ west longitude.

West Umpqua, $43^{\circ} 50'$ north latitude, $123^{\circ} 56'$ west longitude.

Last year, 1836, the Hudson Bay Company's schooner "Cadborough," entered two of these rivers with 8 feet of water. "Pelican bay" is a good harbor. From the information of Mr. Young and other trappers, I am told the Umpqua is nearly the same size as the Willhamett. The lands are equally good and well timbered. The river called "Rougues," or sometimes Smith's river, abounds with the finest timber west of the Rocky mountains; and it may be fairly estimated that the valleys of the rivers certainly within the limits of the United States,* contain at least 14,000,000 of acres of land of first quality, equal to the best lands of Missouri or Illinois. The Indians west of the Rocky mountains, between the Columbia and 42° north latitude, may be estimated at 100,000, two-thirds of whom are armed by the Hudson Bay Company. North of the Columbia, along the coast to Cape Flattery, the "Chehulis" Indians inhabit the country. They have a friendly intercourse with the Indians of Baker's bay, although they speak a different dialect. On the "Cowility," (see map), which falls into the Columbia, there are a few Indians of the Klacku-

*Exclusive of the Columbia and Willhamett.

tuck tribe. Coal has been found here. Dr. McLaughlin now compels the Canadians, whose term of service expires, and who are anxious to become farmers, to settle on this river, as it lies to the north of the Columbia. The reason he assigns is, that the north side of the Columbia river will belong to the Hudson Bay Company. If one side of the river is claimed, with the same propriety they might claim both sides. The navigation of the Columbia is absolutely necessary to the Hudson Bay Company; without this, they have no passage into the heart of their finest possessions in the interior, New Caledonia, etc. I know not what political influence they command; but this monopoly is very wealthy; and, when the question of our western lines of territory is settled, they (the Hudson Bay Company) will make the most strenuous efforts to retain free navigation of the Columbia—more important to them than the free navigation of the St. Lawrence is to the people of the United States.

I beg leave to call your attention to the topography of "*Pugitt's sound*," and urge, in the most earnest manner, that this point should never be abandoned. If the United States claim, as I hope they ever will, at least as far as 49 degrees of north latitude, running due west from the "*Lake of the Woods*," on the above parallel we shall take in "*Pugitt's sound*." In a military point of view, it is of the highest importance to the United States. If it were in the hands of any foreign power, especially Great Britain, with the influence she could command (through the Hudson Bay Company) over the Indians at the north, on those magnificent straights of "*Juan de Fuca*," a force of 20,000 men could be brought by water in large canoes to the sound, "*Pugitt's*," in a few days, from thence to the Columbia; the distance is but two days' march, via the Cowility. I hope our claim to 54° of north latitude will never be abandoned; at all events, we should never give up *Pugitt's sound*, nor permit the free navigation of the Columbia, unless, indeed, a fair equivalent was offered, such as the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. I am now more convinced than ever of the importance of the Columbia river,

even as a place where, for eight months of the year, our whalers from the coast of Japan might resort for supplies, which, in the course of a few years, would be abundant, if the citizens of the United States could receive from the Government the protection due to them. A custom-house, established at the mouth of the Columbia, would effectually protect the American trader from the monopoly which the Hudson Bay Company enjoy at this time, and a single military post would be sufficient to give effect to the laws of the United States, and protect our citizens in their lawful avocations.

We descended the Columbia in the *Loriot* on the 23d of January, and found the Hudson Bay Company's ships *Nereide* and *Llama* still in "Baker's bay," having been detained since the 22d of December. On the 29th of January, a violent gale from the southeast commenced before daylight. On the morning of the 30th, the *Loriot* parted both cables, and was driven ashore. We received every assistance from the *Nereide* and *Llama*. In two or three days the *Loriot* was got afloat. In the mean time, Captain Bancroft went up to Fort Vancouver, and succeeded in getting a good chain-cable, stream, and anchor. On the 10th of February, the bar was smooth and the wind from the eastward. We got under way with the Hudson Bay Company's ships *Nereide* and *Llama*, and crossed the bar safely, and stood on our way towards "Bodega," the Russian settlement in California.

Nothing material occurred from the day we left Columbia until the morning of the 19th of February, when we made the land off the "Presidia Ross." The wind being light, I took the boat at 8 miles distant, and passed in for the fort. About three miles distant from the *Loriot*, I met three Bydackas coming off to us. An officer delivered a polite message from the Russian Governor, and immediately returned to the shore with me. About 2 o'clock I landed, and met a hospitable reception from Mr. Peter Rostrometinoff, the Russian military and civil commandant of the Russian American Fur Company. The Presidia Ross lies in 38° 40' north latitude, immediately on the ocean, on a hill sloping gradually towards the sea. The

rear is crowned by a range of hills 1500 feet in height, covered with pines, firs, cedar, and laurel, rendering the position of the fort highly picturesque. The fort is an enclosure 100 yards square, picketed with timber 8 inches thick by 18 feet high, mounts four 12-lb. carronades on each angle, and four 6-lb. brass howitzers fronting the principal gate; has two octangular block-houses, with loop holes for musketry, and eight buildings within the enclosure and 48 outside, beside a large boathouse at the landing place, blacksmith's shop, carpenters' and coopers' shop, and a large stable for 200 cows, the number usually milked. The Russians first settled at "Bodega," about 18 miles south of Ross, in 1813. It was thought to afford facilities for ship-building, and a good point for seal fishing and "sea otter" hunting. Two vessels of upwards of two hundred tons have been built here, and several smaller vessels of 25 to 40 tons. The oak, however, of which these vessels have been built, is not good, although it is an evergreen, and resembles in grain the "post oak;" it is of far inferior quality. This establishment of the Russians seems now to be kept up principally as a "point d'appui;" and hereafter it may be urged in furtherance of the claims of the "Imperial Autocrat" to this country, having now been in possession of Ross and "Bodega" for 24 years, without molestation. Two ships annually come down for wheat from (Sitka). Their cargoes are purchased in California; likewise, tallow and jerked beef, for bills on the Russian American Fur Company, St. Petersburg. These bills fall into the hands of the American traders from Boston and the Sandwich Islands, who receive these bills from the Californians as money in payment of goods. Ross contains about 400 souls; 60 of whom are Russians and "Fins," 80 "Kodiacks," the remainder Indians of the neighborhood, who work well with the plough and sickle. All the Russians and Finlanders are artisans. Wages \$35 to \$40 per annum. They export butter and cheese to Sitka. But few skins (seals) are now taken—no sea otters. This year the farm is much increased. Two hundred and forty fanegas, equal to 600 bushels, of wheat is sown. It generally yields 12

bushels for one. Stock, 1,500 head of neat cattle, 800 horses and mules, 400 to 500 sheep and 300 hogs.

Climate, Etc.—Within the last three years a very material change has taken place in the climate along this coast. Formerly, in the months of May, June, July, August, September, and October, the winds prevailed from northwest to west; November, December, January, February, March, and April; southwest to south-southeast winds prevailed; but for three years past the winds are exactly reversed. It is, consequently, much colder in winter than formerly. In May and June fogs settle on the hills near Ross, and produce rust in wheat.

Thermometrical observations at Ross, in 1836, Fahrenheit. Latitude 38° 41' north.

In October,	1836,	maximum	66°	average	12 M.
	"	minimum	43°		
November,	"	maximum	72°		
	"	minimum	38°		
December,	"	maximum	62°		
	"	minimum	36°		
January,	1837,	maximum	58°		
	"	minimum	38°		
February,	"	maximum	56°		
	"	minimum	43°		

Timber.—Oaks, four species—two are evergreen; sweet-scented laurel, excellent wood; cedar of Lebanon; "Douglass pine" grows to an extraordinary size; common pines, firs, alder, and the red wood a species of cedar, the best wood in the country.

An agent of the Russian Government was here last year. He came through via Siberia from St. Petersburg, and visited all the posts in Kamschatka, and on the northwest coast. He got permission from the late General Figaroa (then commandant general of California) to put up a large building on the bay of St. Francisco, ostensibly to be used as a granary to receive the wheat purchased in California; but, in effect, it was intended as a block-house, and was to have been made defensible. The timber was got out, and now lies ready to

be used. General Figaroa died, and his successor, "Chico," prohibited the Russians from erecting their block-house.

Mr. Rostrometinoff readily granted me permission for the party that accompanied me from the Columbia to land at Bodega. He also furnished a house for their use until their cattle could be collected, and provided me with horses and guides to proceed by land to the bay of St. Francisco. Of my proceedings in California, I must beg to refer to the communication which I shall have the honor to lay before you in a few days, accompanied by a chart of the Columbia, etc.

In the mean time, I have the honor to remain your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTHE,
Secretary of State.

(A.)

OREGON TERRITORY,
Wallamette Settlement.

Articles of agreement made and entered into this 13th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

Whereas we, the undersigned, settlers upon the Wallamette river, are fully convinced of the importance and necessity of having neat cattle of our own, in order successfully to carry on our farms, and gain a comfortable livelihood; and whereas we find it impossible to purchase them here, as all the cattle in the country belong to the Hudson Bay Company, they refusing to sell them under any circumstances; and as we believe that the possession of cattle would not only benefit us personally, but will materially benefit the whole settlement, we, the undersigned, do therefore agree—

1st. To avail ourselves of an offer of W. A. Slacum, Esq., of the United States Navy, to take passage in the American brig *Loriot*, Captain Bancroft, free of charge, to proceed to California, to purchase cattle for ourselves and all our neighbors who choose to join us in this enterprise, either by accom-

panying us themselves or furnishing the means of purchasing cattle in California.

2d. We agree to contribute funds according to our means, making a common stock concern, subject to the following conditions: The expenses of all those who go to California are to be borne by the company, calculating the time so employed at the rate of twenty dollars per month; provisions likewise to be paid by the company.

3d. The wages of the men thus employed are to be calculated as so much money, and each one is to be credited accordingly; and each and every member of the company shall have his portion of the cattle which may arrive safely at the Wallamette, there to be divided agreeably to capital and wages employed in the enterprise.

4th. All those who go for the purpose aforesaid, to California, hereby bind themselves to return to the Wallamette with the cattle, and to use their best endeavors to protect the same.

5th. We hereby agree that Ewing Young shall be leader of the party, and P. L. Edwards, treasurer, and that they shall be joint purchasers of the cattle.

6th. If any man desert the company in California, he shall forfeit all wages which he may have earned. If, after the arrival of the party in California, any man shall choose to labor for his personal benefit, he shall have liberty to do so; provided that he shall be bound to invest the proceeds of his labor in the common stock, and he shall not enter into any engagements which shall prevent him from leaving when required; but such person shall not be entitled to any remuneration from the company for the time so employed.

EWING YOUNG,
P. L. EDWARDS,
JAMES A. O'NEAL,
WEBLEY J. HAWKHURST,
CALVIN TIBBETTS,
LAWRENCE CARMICHAEL,

his
JOHN x TURNER,
mark.

his
PIERRE x DEPAU,
mark.

GEORGE GAY,
WILLIAM J. BAILEY,

his
EMAT x ERQUIETTE,
mark.

Settler's name.	When Acres en- begun closed	Acres cultivated	Crop of wheat, bushels	Horses	Hogs	Houses	Remarks	
Jean Baptiste McRoy.....	1831	69	35	556	33	22	3	Good.
Andre Longtre	1835	45	24	400	3	33	2	Good.
Charles Plante	1835	60	60	800	12	14	2	Good.
Charles Ronden	1836	24	24	200	9	10	1	Good.
Louis Fourier	1835	34	34	540	9	10	1	Good.
Joseph Gervais	1832	125	65	1,000	19	55	3 & 1 grist-mill	Good.
Xavier Delarout	1834	36	36	350	11	35	2	Good.
Joseph Delor	1832	28	28	280	11	28	2	Good.
E. Arquette	1833	80	50	600	5	31	2	Good.
Jean B. Perault	1832	80	60	500	4	20	3	Good.
Etteine Lucia	1832	70	45	740	21	45	4 & 1 grist-mill	Good.
Pierre Billique	1833	50	45	700	9	28	2	Good.
*Frederick Depau	1833	40	35	500	8	39	2	Good.
Ewing Young	1835	29	29	240	79 & 2 mules	30	2 & 1 distillery	Good.
†Lawrence Carmichael								
William Johnson	1834	45	25	300	2	14	2	Good.
‡As. A. O'Neil and Thos. J. Hubbard	1836	200	15	70	9	13	1 & blacksmith's shop.	
||Wm. Canning, miller and millwright								
Solomon H. Smith								
Winslow Anderson								
Charles Roe, carpenter								
Elisha Ezekiel, wheelwright								
John Hord, carpenter								
Webley Hawkshurst, carpenter								
John Turner								
William Bailey								
Calvin Ebbets, stone mason								
John Rowling								
George Gay								

*The above thirteen are all Canadians, and have been in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company.

†Works on shares with Young. ‡Besides the crop of wheat, each of the above five have a large quantity of barley, oats, peas, and potatoes, sufficient for their support. || £300 sterling in the hands of the Hudson Bay Company.

C.

WALLAMETTE SETTLEMENT,

January 2, 1837.

GENTLEMEN: Whereas we, the members of the Oregon Temperance Society, have learned with no common interest, and with feelings of *deep regret*, that you are now preparing a distillery for the purpose of manufacturing ardent spirits to be sold in this vicinity; and whereas we are most fully convinced that the vending of spiritous liquors will more effectually paralyse our efforts for the promotion of temperance than any other, or all other obstacles that can be thrown in our way; and whereas we do feel a *lively* and *intense* interest in the success of the temperance cause, believing, as we do, that the prosperity and interests of this rising and infant settlement will be materially affected by it, both as respects their temporal and spiritual welfare; and that the poor Indian, whose case is even now indescribably wretched, will be made far more so by the use of ardent spirits; and whereas, gentlemen, you are not ignorant that the laws of the United States prohibit American citizens from selling ardent spirits to Indians, under the penalty of a heavy fine; and, as you do not pretend to justify your enterprise, but urge pecuniary necessity as the reason of your procedure; and as we do not, cannot, think it will be of pecuniary interest to prosecute this business, if, as you have determined to do, you discontinue it the present season; and as we are not enemies, but friends, and do not wish, under existing circumstances, that you should sacrifice one single penny of the money you have already expended, we do, therefore, for the above, and various other reasons we could urge,

Resolved, first, That we, the undersigned, do most *earnestly* and *feelingly* request you, gentlemen, to abandon your enterprise forever.

Resolved, secondly, That we will, and do hereby agree, to pay you the sum you have already expended, if you will give us the avails of your expenditure, or deduct the value of them from the bill of expenses.

Resolved, thirdly, That a committee of one be appointed to make known the views of this society, and present our request to Messrs. Young and Carmichael.

Resolved, fourthly, That we, the undersigned, will pay the sums severally affixed to our names to Messrs. Young and Carmichael, on or before the 31st day of March, 1837, the better to enable them to give up their enterprise.

Resolved, fifthly, That the inhabitants of this settlement who are not attached to this society shall be invited to affix their names to this request, and to give what they feel free to give for the promotion of this object.

JOSEPH GERVAIS	-	-	-	-	\$8.00
XAVIER LA DESCOSTE	6 bushels of wheat				
DESSPORTS MACKAY	-	-	-	-	8.00
JOHN HORD	-	-	-	-	4.00
JOHN TURNER	-	-	-	-	4.00
CALVIN TIBBETS					
WINSLOW ANDERSON					
CHARLES PLANTE	-	6 bushels of wheat			
CHARLES RONDEAU					
JOSEPH DE LOR	-	-	-	-	4.00
CHARLES ROE	-	-	-	-	4.00
S. H. SMITH	-	-	-	-	4.00
JAMES O'NEIL	-	-	-	-	6.00
WEBLEY J. HAWKHURST	-	-	-	-	5.00
ANDRES PECOR					
LOUIS FORCIA					
ELISHA EZEKIEL					
ETTIENNE LUCIA					

The undersigned jointly promise to pay the balance, be the same more or less.

JASON LEE
 DANIEL LEE
 CYRUS SHEPPARD
 P. S. EDWARDS

The undersigned are not members of the Oregon Temperance Society, but concur in urging the foregoing request.

PIERRE DEPAU
A. ERQUETTE,
JOHN BAPTISTE PERROULT
GEORGE GAY
P. BILLIQUE
CHARLES SCHEGTE
WILLIAM CARMING
T. J. HUBBARD - - - - \$8.00

Messrs. YOUNG & CARMICHAEL.

NOTE.—T. J. Hubbard has since joined the temperance society.

D.

WALLAMETTE, *January 13, 1837.*

GENTLEMEN: Having taken into consideration your request to abolish our enterprise in manufacturing ardent spirits, we therefore do agree to stop our proceedings for the present.

But, gentlemen, the reasons for our first beginning such an undertaking were the innumerable difficulties and tyrannizing oppression of the Hudson Bay Company here, under the absolute authority of Dr. John McLaughlin, who has treated us with more disdain than any American citizen of feeling can support. But as there are now some favorable circumstances occurred that we can get along without making spiritous liquors, we resolve to stop the manufacturing of it for the present.

P. S.—Gentlemen, we do not feel it consistent with our feelings to receive any recompense whatever for our expenditure, but we are thankful to the society for their offer.

We remain, etc., yours,
YOUNG & CARMICHAEL.

To the OREGON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

*Thermometrical observations taken at Fort Vancouver, latitude
45° 37' north.*

1833,	June,	Minimum	7 A. M.	52°	Maximum,	12 M.	66°
	July,	do.	do.	47°	do.	do.	89°
	August,	do.	do.	52°	do.	do.	83°
	September,	do.	do.	48°	do.	do.	81°
	October,	do.	do.	35°	do.	3 P. M.	73°
	November,	do.	do.	30°	do.	do.	62°
	December,	do.	do.	09°	do.	do.	52°
1834,	January,	do.	do.	06°	do.	do.	43°
	February,	do.	do.	28°	do.	do.	64°
	March,	do.	do.	30°	do.	do.	66°
	April,	do.	6 do.	32°	do.	do.	83°
	May,	do.	do.	42°	do.	do.	86°
	June,	do.	do.	49°	do.	do.	90°
	July,	do.	do.	55°	do.	do.	93°
	August,	do.	do.	49°	do.	do.	86°
	September,	do.	do.	46°	do.	do.	86°
	October,	do.	do.	36°	do.	do.	73°
	November,	do.	do.	31°	do.	do.	61°
	December,	do.	do.	18°	do.	do.	49°
1835	January,	do.	do.	29°	do.	do.	52°
	February,	do.	do.	28°	do.	do.	58°
	March,	do.	do.	31°	do.	do.	61°
1836,	April,	do.	7 do.	40°	do.	4 P. M.	68°
	May,	do.	do.	42°	do.	do.	81°
	June,	do.	do.	48°	do.	do.	83°
	July,	do.	do.	55°	do.	do.	97°
	August,	do.	do.	54°	do.	do.	98°
	September,	do.	do.	40°	do.	do.	86°
	October,	do.	do.	41°	do.	do.	81°
	November,	do.	do.	29°	do.	do.	61°
	December,	do.	do.	16°	do.	do.	53°
1837,	January,	do.	do.	22°	do.	do.	48°

C.

Amount of Mr. Slacum's account, as made out at the Department of State.....	\$5,969.74
From which the following deductions have been made at the same, viz.:	
*From item No. 14, one-third of the amount, being for board, etc., of servant, not allowed	\$9.08
From item No. 15, one-third of the amount being for stage-fare of servant from Mexico to Vera Cruz.....	47.82
From item No. 16, one-third, being for passage of servant to New York.....	61.66
From item for expenses in Mexico, one-third for the proportion of servant.....	3.66
From item for expenses in and from New York to Washington, for the same.....	9.66
From item for hire of the servant, the hire and expenses of whom is allowed from the period of the commencement of the journey of Mr. Slacum, in execution of the duty confided to him, to that of his arrival in Mexico, when it is considered he could have dispensed with his services.....	6.00
	<hr/> \$137.89
	<hr/> \$5,831.85

The amount of expenses in the within account greatly exceeds that anticipated; it not having been contemplated that Mr. Slacum would have to charter a vessel at the Sandwich Islands for the purpose of reaching the Columbia river; but, inasmuch as it appears that this was done by him after a fruitless attempt to go up the coast in a small vessel, hired on the coast of Mexico, in his anxiety to perform the duties intrusted to him, I have approved the account, and submit it to the President for his approbation.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

November 13, 1837.

Approved:

M. VAN BUREN.
JOHN FORSYTH.

*The servant above alluded to, and on whose account the above deductions are made, I carried with me from this District to Mexico. His expenses were only charged to the Government from the commencement of my journey from the west coast of America until my return to this city. He is a native citizen of the United States, a man of well-tryed fidelity, courage, and integrity; and I could not, therefore, think of leaving him alone, a stranger, in a foreign and dangerous country.

DEDUCTIONS.

From No. 14, one-third of the amount, being for board, etc., of a servant at Mexico, not allowed...	\$ 9.08
From No. 15 one-third, being for stage-fare from Mexico to Vera Cruz.....	47.83
From No. 16, one-third, being for passage of servant to New York	61.66
From item for expenses in Mexico, one-third, for proportion of servant	3.66
From item for expenses in and from New York to Washington, for the same.....	9.66
From item for hire of servant, the hire and expenses of whom is allowed from the period of the commencement of the journey of Mr. Slacum, in the execution of the duty confided to him, to that of his arrival in Mexico, when it is considered he could have dispensed with his services.....	6.00
	<hr/> \$137.89

No. 1.

PETIC, June 7, 1836.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint you with my having reached this place a few days since, on my way to the Oregon. I could not procure a vessel at Guaymas, to go up the coast, therefore felt compelled to attempt the journey by land, intending to cross the Rio Colorado, in 113° west, and 33° north latitude. I entertained some fears of not being able to cross the river, and two days ago met Dr. William Keith, late United States Consul at Petic. He had just returned from Upper California. In answer to my inquiries as to the difficulties of the route, at this season of the year, he answered me thus: "From the Augua Salada, to the Tinaga Alta, is a distance of 28 English leagues, without water. From thence to the river Gila you are still without water. That at the Tinaga Alta, is collected during the rainy season in the rocks. We had great difficulty in watering our animals, and Don Silvestre de la Portilla, who followed four days after in our track, informed us the water had given out; consequently you would have a journey of at least 55 leagues to perform, without watering

your horses. From the 20th of April, until the 20th of August, Grand river is not in a condition to cross. I crossed on the 15th of April last, and found the river considerably swollen; in twelve hours it rose $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and it continues to rise until the 15th of July. On either side of the river for the distance of from 3 to 4 leagues, it is low, level, and muddy, and soon begins to overflow. The journey at this season of the year is impracticable; there is no case existing of its having been done. In fact, no one who is aware of the situation of the part where travelers are obliged to cross Grand river, would attempt it, unless in case of life and death." From the above statement of Dr. Keith, I feel, with the greatest degree of reluctance, compelled to abandon the journey by land. I shall return to Guaymas immediately, and hope I may find a vessel of some size in which I can beat up the coast.

I have the honor to remain, etc., etc.,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 2.

GUAYMAS, July 7, 1836.

SIR: I had the honor of addressing you on the 7th ultimo, from Petic, on the subject of my route to the Oregon, and the cause of its impracticability at this season of the year.

I have now to acquaint you with my having chartered a small vessel of the country, of 12 55/95 tons, in which I embark this day. I almost fear I shall not be able to work up to windward on the northwest coast, as the vessel is so very small. If, however, I should be blown off the coast, I must run for the Sandwich islands, and then do the best I can to get into the (coast) river. No exertion shall be wanting on my part to execute the trust reposed in me.

I have the honor to remain, etc.,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State, Washington.

* No. 3.

MAZATLAN, *July 27, 1836.*

SIR: I have the honor to hand you, enclosed, duplicates of my respects of the 7th of June, from Petic, and 7th of July, from Guaymas. I sailed from the latter port on the 7th inst., in the schooner Loretano, of twelve tons. This small vessel was the only one I could procure to prosecute the voyage to the Oregon. Off Cape St. Lucar, we encountered such tempestuous weather that I have been compelled to put in here in distress, water started, and leaking badly. When I tell you the Loretano was formerly the long-boat of the ship James Munroe, of New York, you will understand the size of my ship, in which I have attempted to get to the river. After navigating about four hundred miles in her in this gulf, I feel satisfied she will never beat to the windward a distance of two thousand eight hundred miles against the northwest winds, which blow with great violence at this season of the year on the coast; and I assure you, sir, it is no sinecure to be out now, on any part of the coast, in so small a craft. I have just heard that an English barque, the "Falcon," is lying at La-Paz, loading pearl shells for Canton. She will touch at the Sandwich islands. I shall therefore, cross over to La-Paz, and take passage in her to Oahu. This will be my last hope of being able to reach the river this season. However, I feel confident of being on the banks of the Oregon by the first of November, and back in time to make my report to the Department of State before the adjournment of next Congress. I have been unfortunate heretofore in both my essays. I trust I shall be able now to get from the Sandwich islands to the river, without any further difficulty.

I have the honor to remain, etc.,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,
Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 4.

FALCON, OFF SAN BLAS,
October 10, 1836.

SIR: I have been unavoidably detained in California until this time. We sail, however, this day, for the Sandwich islands. I hope to be there by the 1st proximo, and by the 10th of December on the banks of the Oregon.

I have forwarded to Mr. Ellis, in Mexico, a claim against the Government of Mexico, evidently of the most just and plain character; and although I have every confidence in the ability and friendly disposition of Mr. Ellis to do everything in his power to get the claims of his countrymen acknowledged, I could still have wished to have gone to Mexico, to urge, in person, the claim in question, amounting to nearly ten thousand dollars. But the duty that has been assigned me, I shall endeavor to accomplish to the satisfaction of the Government, to the postponement of all matters of a private nature.

I have the honor to remain, etc., etc.,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,
Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 5.

OAHU, SANDWICH ISLANDS,
November 24, 1836.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint you that I arrived here on the 5th instant, from Lower California, via San Blas. Tomorrow I sail for the Columbia river, in the American brig Lorient, Captain Bancroft, and I may fairly calculate on being at Fort George in twenty days from this date.

My coming hither has very much facilitated my views, and I have received information connected with American interests in the Oregon of the highest importance.

I have chartered the brig^s Lorient at \$700 per month, as per enclosed memorandum of agreement, as I must be independent of the Hudson Bay Company, who are in possession of four forts on the Columbia, and two on the Willhamett, and they will, doubtless, endeavor to throw every obstacle in the way of proceeding up the river; but I have guarded against any ordinary contingency by having a good boat to proceed in after taking the Lorient above Fort Vancouver, the principal establishment of the Hudson Bay Company, situated about ninety miles from the mouth of the river. I have also purchased some few articles of trade, such as blankets, tobacco, etc., to lull suspicion and facilitate my movements.

After accomplishing the objects of my mission to the Oregon, I shall run down on our line of coast to the Bay of Bodega, the Russian establishment, ninety miles north of San Francisco, and if I can meet a party sufficiently strong, I shall cross the Indian country to the United States, following the line of the Sacramento to its source, which must be near the head waters of the La Platte. The Russians are exceedingly anxious to get a footing on the bay of San Francisco. Last year, they erected a large block-house on the north side of the bay, ostensibly to be used as a granary to secure their wheat purchases for their more northern establishments at Sitka, etc. The people of California, however, are exceedingly jealous of their encroachments; whilst, on the other hand, they (the Californians) are most anxious to throw off the Mexican yoke, and claim the protection of the United States. The American ship *Rasselas* came in yesterday, from Monterey; came out with the United States ship *Peacock*, Commodore Kennedy. The captain of the *Rasselas* reports that the "Rancheros" were marching against the Government troops about one hundred strong. Last year, the "Rancheros" displaced two governors, and the third will, doubtless, follow their example. There are, at this moment, at least 300 American riflemen in Upper California, enough to take possession and hold the country, because the people are decidedly opposed to the lawless exactions of those who have been sent from Mexico to rule over them. I

hope to get to the United States in April, and trust the information I may be enabled to lay before the Department of State may prove useful and interesting.

I have used of my private funds about \$1500, as the enclosed vouchers show. I shall most probably be compelled to draw on the department for my further expenses.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 6.

ALEXANDRIA, *September 13, 1837.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th instant, and beg to ask a reference to my letters of June 7th, from Petic; of July 7th, from Guaymas; of July 27th, from Mazatlan; of October 10th, from San Blas and November 24th, from Honolulu. Those letters explain the difficulties I had to encounter, and the reasons which influenced my conduct in going to the Sandwich islands, as the only practicable route by which I could carry into effect the orders I had the honor to receive from the President of the United States, through the Department of State, in November, 1835. Those orders, directing me "to embrace the earliest opportunity to proceed to and up the Oregon, by such conveyances as may be thought to afford the greatest facilities for attaining the end in view," in my humble opinion, fully justified my chartering the brig Lorient, to convey me to the river Columbia. On the subject of freight, I beg leave to assure you, that none was taken on board, either on my account, or that of any other person. The provisions, accoutrements etc., of the American settlers from the Willhamett, whom I conveyed from that river to Bodega, were taken aboard the Lorient free of expense, as the agreement of the settlers, now

on file in the Department of State, shows; and the benefit that will result to the United States from that measure alone, will be, nay is, at this moment more than ten times equivalent to all the expenses incurred in my journey. From the 1st day of June, 1836, when my private affairs were closed in Guaymas, I devoted myself to the duty assigned me; wholly regardless of my private interest, which would have led me to the capital of Mexico, to prosecute, in person, the claim I hold against that Government. (See my letter of October 10th from San Blas.)

In conclusion, I beg leave most respectfully to remark, that inasmuch as I have paid on the account of the Government of the United States in specie, which I carried with me at my own risk, it seems to be but fair that I should be reimbursed in the same currency, to the full amount of my account.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 7.

ALEXANDRIA.

SIR: In submitting this account for the actual expenses I have paid in gold and silver, on account of the Government of the United States, I wish it to be distinctly understood that, from June, 1836, when I closed my private affairs as nearly as I could in Guaymas, I devoted all my time and energies to execute the commission intrusted to me, to the postponement of my private interest, which would have led me to the city of Mexico, to urge in person the claim I hold against that Government, for about 10,000 dollars.

I distinctly state, likewise, that I had no private business at the Sandwich islands, or elsewhere, to attend to, after June, 1836, when I commenced my journey towards the Columbia river from Lower California. When I failed in getting to the

Columbia by land from Lower California, (see my letters of June and July, from Guaymas,) I availed myself of the only alternative, namely, that of going to the Sandwich islands to procure a vessel to take me into the river; my anxiety to proceed caused me to take up a small vessel of 20 tons, to perform a voyage of 3,000 miles. Finding on examination that this vessel was not sea-worthy, I chartered another even smaller, and after being out 19 days, and nearly entirely wrecked, I was compelled to abandon this vessel, and take passage in the English barque Falcon for the Sandwich islands, where I chartered the Lorient, and proceeded to the Columbia river. Hence has arisen the charges for Joven Teresa, and the Loretano, (see my letter from Mazatlan, of July, 1836,) the charges for clothing, blankets, &c. were as necessary for my use, to withstand the rigor of the climate, exposed as I was, as to the arms which I carried with me at my own expense. Part of the clothing I gave to the Indians for services rendered. I took with me gold and silver at my own risk, and which was calculated to increase the dangers of the journey: these were neither few nor light. I have made presents of arms, &c. to persons who have been civil to me, and have actually expended, in this way, over \$200. I have not charged these items in my account, nor is there any charge for interest, because I have reasonably thought that the arduous duty I have performed would receive the attention of the Executive of the United States.

With great respect, I remain,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

To the Hon. JOHN FORSYTH,

Secretary of State, Washington.

No. 8.

EXTRACT.

FALCON, OFF SAN BLAS,

October 10th, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR: I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 20th, just from Mexico.

I have requested my friends, Messrs. Barron, Forbes, & Co. to forward to you the drafts on the custom-house at Guaymas, and have to beg the favor of your doing all you can to get the claim adjusted. I am compelled to proceed, on duty for the Government, to the Oregon, else I should hasten to Mexico, to endeavor to make some settlement of this, to me, important claim. I put the greatest trust in your getting the claim acknowledged at once from its apparent equity.

Yours most truly,

WILLIAM A. SLACUM.

TO POWHATTAN ELLIS, Esq.

Mexico.

NOTES

The sixty-ninth anniversary of the organization of the first American civil government west of the Rocky Mountains was celebrated at Champoeg, thirty-three miles south of Portland, on May 2, 1912, for the twelfth time. Ex-Governor T. T. Geer, a native son of Oregon, whose father came across the plains in 1847, was president of the day. The principal address was made by Mr. Frederick V. Holman, President of the Oregon Historical Society, and a well known lawyer of Portland. His subject was "A Brief History of the Oregon Provisional Government and What Caused Its Formation." Mr. Holman is also a native son of Oregon of the year 1852. His grandfather came to Oregon in 1843 and his father and mother in 1846. The sole survivor of the one hundred and two persons who were present on May 2, 1842—Mr. Francois Xavier Matthieu—was on the platform. He passed his ninety-fourth birthday on April 2nd. With the exception of his eyesight, he is an unusually vigorous man, both mentally and physically. Following Mr. Holman, short addresses in the nature of greetings to the assembled pioneers, their descendants and friends, were made by Mrs. La Reine Helen Baker and Mr. Samuel Hill. Upwards of one thousand persons were in attendance.

Through the initiative of Mr. Joseph Buchtel, a pioneer of 1852, and a number of other pioneers, fifteen acres of land adjacent to the site of Champoeg where the historic meeting of May 2, 1843, was held, and the spot now marked by a small monument, has been secured, and an effort will be made to secure state aid in the near future and convert it into a state park, one feature of which will be a suitable auditorium in which to hold annual celebrations.

The fortieth annual reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association was held in Portland at the Masonic Temple on June 20th. Robert A. Miller, President, presided. The annual address was delivered by Hon. Robert G. Smith, Mayor of Grants Pass, Josephine County. The annual banquet, provided by the Pioneer Woman's Auxiliary, was laid in the Multnomah County

Armory. Twelve hundred sat at the tables. No one can be a member of the Oregon Pioneer Association except those who came to, or was born in, some part of the original "Oregon Country" prior to January 1, 1860. Only one exception is made, and that is in connection with California. Any one who came to, or were born in, that State prior to January 1, 1860, now residing in Oregon, are eligible to membership upon the same terms as if they had always been residents of Oregon. The average age of the twelve hundred pioneers present at the reunion was sixty-nine years. It was not an uncommon experience for persons attending this reunion to meet old acquaintances whom they had not seen for periods of twenty to fifty years, and in one case sixty-four years.

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THE TRAIL OF THE ASTORIANS

By Rev. J. Neilson Barry, Baker, Oregon

Two famishing white men were eagerly searching among the debris of a deserted Indian camping ground for some morsel of food that may have been left behind, and were vainly endeavoring to swallow some dry fish bones which they had pounded between stones. The men were utterly destitute, as treacherous Indians had robbed them of everything, including all their clothing, and they were now starving in a trackless wilderness after having journeyed an entire year since they had left the last frontier habitation of a white man.

One of these two men was Ramsay Crooks, a partner of John Jacob Astor in the Pacific Fur Company. He had left St. Louis with the overland expedition to Astoria, but had become so enfeebled from hunger and privations that he had been unable to keep up with the main party, so, with five others equally debilitated, he had been painfully struggling through the snow along their route, under such vicissitudes of sufferings that four of his companions had been unable to continue the journey, and now, with one comrade, he was on the verge of perishing from destitution.

It is an illustration of the wonderful development of civilization in the West that in later years through transcontinental trains, with Pullmans and dining cars, ran along the very route on which this man so nearly lost his life, while his son, Col. William Crooks, was the assistant to the president of that railroad.

A traveler on the observation car of a through Pullman train who sees the pine-clad mountains, and the sagebrush plains, with the wonderful transformation which is taking place wherever civilization has gained a foothold, must naturally feel an interest in the story of the first travelers through this region, so charmingly told by Washington Irving in "Astoria," which was written in part at the home of Ramsay Crooks in St. Louis.

The attempt in 1811 of an American corporation, the Pacific Fur Company, to establish Astoria as a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, was of far-reaching consequences, as it became one basis for the claim to the Oregon country as part of the territory of the United States.

The overland expedition to Astoria under Wilson Price Hunt did much to increase the knowledge of what had been an unexplored wilderness, and contributed to the ultimate discovery of that natural highway between the Mississippi and the Pacific, which became the route of the trappers, and in later years "The Old Oregon Trail" of the emigrants, and is now used by the trunk line of a transcontinental railway system.

The chief natural features along the route of the Astorians have remained unaltered, although irrigation has produced an almost miraculous change in parts of the desolate wilderness, such as that around "Caldron Linn," now Milner, Idaho, which has become like an immense garden. A network of railroads now covers what was formerly a trackless wild, while throughout the region, where no foot of white man had ever trodden, are now scattered a steadily increasing multitude of towns and cities, with all the adjuncts of modern civilization that they imply.

It was the view from the Pullman car that first caused the writer of this article to desire to learn the stories that must lie behind the outward scenes, and later the fertile Baker valley at the foot of the beautiful Elkhorn range was recognized as the "fine level valley" and "chain of woody mountains" mentioned in "Astoria."

The thought that here had actually trodden the footsteps of the half famished, but resolute, band of explorers, aroused the

desire to identify other portions of their trail, and so for several years every fact that might throw light upon the subject was eagerly sought. Through the courtesy of Gen. H. M. Chittenden in lending manuscript notes used in the preparation of his most valuable work, the "American Fur Trade of the Far West," and with much assistance from Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, Wash., and from very many others, the entire route has been approximately ascertained.

The first stage of the journey was along well known waterways. Mr. Hunt and Mr. McKenzie started from Montreal, Canada, in July, 1810, and went by way of the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay to Mackinaw, Mich., where they obtained recruits for the expedition. Crossing Lake Michigan, they went by Green Bay across Wisconsin, by the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, to the Mississippi, down which they sailed to St. Louis, Mo., where they arrived September 3rd, 1810 (Chapter 13).

Having obtained recruits, they left St. Louis October 21st, and ascended the Missouri River to near the present site of St. Joseph, Mo., where the expedition went into winter quarters, while Mr. Hunt returned to St. Louis. (Chapter 14.)

Mr. Hunt, with additional recruits, left St. Louis March 12th, 1811, and having passed St. Charles, Mo., saw the famous hunter, Daniel Boone, at La Charette, near Marthasville, Warren County, Missouri. At Fort Osage, near Sibley, Mo., he was met by a detachment of the expedition under Ramsay Crooks, who was destined, upon his return journey from Astoria, to taste bread at this place for the first time in nearly a year. (Chapter 15.)

Having rejoined the expedition near St. Joseph, Mo., Mr. Hunt started April 21st and, following the route of Lewis and Clark, ascended the Missouri, passing the mouth of the Platte River and the present site of Omaha, little knowing how much time and suffering would have been saved if he had abandoned the river at that point and struck westward across the country. Continuing up the Missouri, they passed the hill, on the Nebraska side of the river, a short distance below Sioux City,

Iowa, where Blackbird, the noted chief, was buried; his skull is now in the National Museum at Washington, D. C. (Chapter 16.)

The Niobrara River, Nebraska, then called the Quicourt, was passed on May 24th, and near Chamberlain, S. D., Mr. Hunt held a parley with the Indians. (Chapter 18.)

On June 2nd a massacre by Indians was narrowly averted near Cul de Sac Island, and the next day the Astorians were overtaken near Dorion Island by Manuel Lisa, of the Missouri Fur Company, who had left St. Louis after Mr. Hunt had ascended the Missouri some two hundred and forty miles, and who for two months had been making a strenuous race of eleven hundred and fifty miles in order to have the protection of the Astorians while passing this dangerous part of the river. (Chapter 19.)

On June 11th Mr. Hunt camped near Ashby Island, and the next day arrived at the Arickara village, some eight or ten miles above the mouth of Grand River, S. D., then called Big River, thirteen hundred and forty-three miles from St. Louis. (Chapter 20.)

The second stage of the journey was by horseback across a difficult part of the country, as they abandoned the route of Lewis and Clark up the Missouri River for fear of the Black-foot Indians. The expedition, consisting of sixty-four persons, left the Arickara village July 18th, and, having followed the present course of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway for a short distance, they turned toward the southwest, passing through Corson, Perkins and Harding Counties, S. D. (Chapters 23, 24 and 25.)

On August 13th Mr. Hunt altered his course to the westward, and entering what is now Montana, reached the Little Missouri River near the present site of Ericson, Custer County, Montana. (Chapter 25.)

Having crossed the Little Missouri, Mr. Hunt attempted to continue westward, but was prevented by the Powder River Mountains, which were formerly included under the general designation, Black Hills. Turning to the southwest, he passed

near the present site of Alzada, Custer County, Montana, into what is now Crook County, Wyoming, where on August 17th he caught sight of Cloud Peak of the Big Horn range. (Chapter 26.)

Following the ridge between the watershed of the Powder River and the Belle Fourche fork of the Cheyenne in Crook County, Wyoming, they probably crossed the present line of the Burlington & Missouri River Railway in the neighborhood of Gillette. On August 24th they reached the Powder River near the mouth of Pumpkin Creek, Johnson County, Wyoming. This valley was a "hunter's paradise," and was later a favorite wintering place for trappers on account of the abundance of game. Continuing onward along Powder River and Nine-Mile Creek, they camped near the present site of Mayoworth, Johnson County, Wyoming, at the foot of the peak known as the Horn. (Chapter 27.)

Although much uneasiness had been felt in regard to Rose, their renegade interpreter, he performed a very valuable service in showing to them the Indian trail across the Big Horn range, by the middle fork of Powder River and Beaver Creek, which is still used as a highway. (Chapter 28.)

Having crossed the Big Horn Mountains, they descended Little Canyon Creek and encamped September 6th near the present town of Redbank, Big Horn County, Wyoming. Crossing the divide to the valley of Badwater Creek, Fremont County, Wyoming, they followed that stream to its junction with Wind River, which they ascended, passing the site of Riverton on the Wyoming & Northwestern Railway. They continued up Wind River past the fork near Circle, Fremont County, Wyoming, and near Union turned off on the beaten Indian trail, which is now a public highway, and crossed Union Pass, from the summit of which they saw the Tetons. Keeping to the southwest, they reached Green River (Spanish River), which they followed a short distance, camping September 17th opposite Gros Ventre Peak, near Kendall, Uinta County, Wyoming, going from there to the north fork of Beaver Creek, where they spent five days. (Chapter 29.)

Crossing a divide, they reached Hoback's River, named from John Hoback, one of the hunters with the Astorians. This they followed to its junction with the Snake River, a short distance above the Grand Canyon. (Chapter 30.)

Having detached Carson and three other hunters on September 28th, they forded the Snake and were led by Indian guides along the trail, which is now a public highway, across the Teton Pass into Pierre's Hole, the valley of the Teton River, Fremont County, Idaho. On October 8th they arrived at the deserted post called Henry's Fort, which consisted of the first buildings intended for permanent occupancy that had been erected by white men within the Oregon country, and seem to have been a short distance below St. Anthony, Idaho, on the north, or Henry, fork of the Snake River. (Chapter 31.)

Here they began the third stage of their journey in canoes, which they had constructed, since they most unfortunately abandoned their horses under the impression that they were near Astoria and could navigate the Snake River. Having detached Mr. Miller and four hunters, they embarked at Fort Henry October 19th and the same day passed the mouth of the south fork of the Snake River, which they termed Mad River. On October 21st they portaged around Idaho Falls, the Blackfoot Mountains being on their left, and on the 24th reached American Falls, which are said to have been so named at a later day by the Canadians with the Hudson's Bay Company, because a party of American trappers, descending the river, came unexpectedly to the cataract and were swept over and perished. The Oregon Short Line Railway now crosses the river at this point. On October 28th the Astorians met disaster at Caldron Linn, the present site of the dam of the Twin Falls irrigation system at Milner, Idaho. (Chapter 32.)

Further navigation of the Snake River being impossible, the surplus goods were placed in caches on the north side of the river, opposite Milner, and the expedition divided into several detachments and began on foot the fourth stage of their journey. (Chapter 33.)

The exploring parties under John Reed and Robert McLellan having united, they followed along the north or right bank of the Snake River to the canyon below Weiser, Idaho, where they were overtaken by the detachment under Donald McKenzie. The Snake River from this point to near Lewiston, Idaho, flows through a region of precipitous mountains, including the almost impassable range called the Seven Devils. Even to the present time no wagon road has been constructed across this difficult country, which is aptly described as being "on edge." The gorge, through which the Snake River flows, being only surpassed by the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone. In some way McKenzie and his ten companions succeeded in crossing this region in twenty-one days, and possibly ascended Captain John Creek and crossed a shoulder of Craig's Mountain to the headwaters of Sweetwater Creek, near Waha, Nez Perce County, Idaho, where they found wild horses grazing. Making their way to the Clearwater, near Lapwai, they reached the Snake River near Lewiston, Idaho, being again on the route of Lewis and Clark, which they followed, descending the Snake through Washington to the Columbia, and down that river to Astoria, where they arrived January 18th, 1812. (Chapter 38.)

The main body of the expedition left at "Caldron Linn," Milner, Idaho, consisted chiefly of Canadians, as most of the American hunters had been detached, which contributed to their subsequent suffering from scarcity of provisions. Having divided into two parties, they set out November 9th. The group on the north side of the Snake River under Wilson Price Hunt followed along the river through Lincoln and Elmore Counties, Idaho, and camped November 18th in Ada County, opposite the present site of Grand View, and south of Cinder Cone, or Kuna Butte, which is a well known landmark in that vicinity. The "rimrock" in that vicinity is now still destitute of sagebrush. Leaving the river, they followed an Indian trail across a section destitute of water until the recent introduction of irrigation. Crossing the route of the present Oregon Short Line Railroad near Orchard station, they reached the Boise

River a short distance below the present city of Boise. It was on this river that Reed, Dorion and others were subsequently massacred by Indians, of which an account is given in Chapter 51, and the river was in consequence called Reed's River in the early days. Although the Astorians suffered greatly for lack of water on their way from the Snake to the Boise River, yet it was fortunate that they took this route, as it enabled them to procure some horses, without which many would probably have subsequently perished in the Snake River canyon. Following the Boise River along the route, in later days, of the "Old Oregon Trail," toward Malheur Butte, subsequently a well known landmark, they reached the Snake near where Fort Boise stood in after years. Turning northward, they followed along the present route of the Oregon Short Line down along the Snake, crossing the Payette and Weiser Rivers near the present towns with those same names. Little realizing that there was a natural route used by the Indians between this point and the Columbia, they continued down the Snake and entered the canyon November 27th. Traveling then became excessively arduous, but they still continued onward until December 5th, when they had probably reached near the present line dividing Washington and Adams Counties, Idaho. (Chapter 34.)

The detachment under Ramsay Crooks left "Caldron Linn," Milner, Idaho, November 9th and, following along the left or south side of the Snake River, through Twin Falls and Owyhee Counties, Idaho, they entered what is now Malheur County, Oregon. Continuing northward along the Snake River, they passed near where Huntington, Baker County, is now situated, and then followed along the present line of the Northwestern Railroad to probably a short distance beyond Homestead, Baker County, Oregon, where they were forced to turn back and retrace their steps. While ascending back up the river they came, December 6th, to a point opposite to where Mr. Hunt was on the Idaho side. When he had learned through Mr. Crooks of the impassable nature of the canyon, his party also turned back and retraced their steps southward up the river. (Chapter 35.)

The two companies of half famished travelers struggled along on opposite sides of the Snake until they emerged into the open country. Mr. Hunt, on the Idaho side, found an Indian camp, near where Weiser now stands, where he fortunately was able to obtain an Indian guide to lead him along the natural highway across the Blue Mountains to the Columbia, a route first used by the Indians and later forming part of the old Oregon Trail, and now traversed by the main line of the Oregon-Washington Railway. Having constructed a canoe of horse-skin, Mr. Hunt's party crossed to the Oregon side of the river, probably in the vicinity of Olds Ferry, Idaho. (Chapter 36.)

Leaving the Snake River December 24th, they passed the present site of Huntington, Ore., and ascended Burnt River, which is called Woodville Creek in Chapter 44. The Canadian Carriere gave out and had to be placed on a horse, probably near Durkee, Baker County, Oregon. On December 28th they reached Powder River and encamped near Baker. A prominent peak of the "chain of woody mountains," the beautiful Elkhorn Range, has been recently named Hunt Mountain in honor of the leader of this expedition. Continuing northward along Baker Valley, the party camped near the present site of the village of North Powder, Union County, where the Dorion baby was born. This was the first child with the blood of the white race in its veins to be born on the "Old Oregon Trail."

Following the Powder River along the line of the Oregon-Washington Railroad to where the river enters the canyon, above Thief Valley, they turned off among the hills toward Telocaset, Union County, when La Bonte gave out, and was placed upon a horse, while Mr. Hunt shouldered his pack. This was one of the eight white men with this expedition who subsequently became permanent settlers in Oregon. Having reached the now famous Grand Ronde Valley, the party camped near the present site of Union, near Hot Lake, which is described in Chapter 44.

It is still possible to almost locate the spot from which the Indians pointed out the gap, near La Grande, through which they must pass, where it becomes visible, around a point of a hill, from the road between Union and Cove. Crossing the Grand Ronde Valley, they passed near the present site of La Grande, and ascended along Tillakum Creek to the summit of the Blue Mountains, near Kamela.

The following day, January 7th, the little Dorian baby ended its brief life of arduous traveling, and its unmarked grave is probably somewhere near Duncan Station, and near where, on a later occasion, Madame Dorian hid her other two children, while she crawled on her hands and knees, from hunger and exhaustion, to seek for food and succor.

The old Indian trail, which the travelers undoubtedly were following, reaches the Umatilla River near Thorn Hollow Station, and it was near here that poor Carriere disappeared forever. Following down along the Umatilla River, the explorers passed the site of Pendleton, and later turned from the river and struck across country to the Columbia, which they reached between Wallula, Wash., and Umatilla, Ore.

They were then once more on the route of Lewis and Clark, for the first time since leaving the Arickara village in South Dakota six months before. Crossing to the north side of the Columbia, into what is now Washington, they followed down the river along the present route of the Spokane, Portland & Seattle Railway, to the noted Indian village of Wishram, which still exists near the station unfortunately named Spedis, since the ancient name, so well known in history, would be most appropriate now for that station, which is at the head of the Long Narrows, or Celilo Rapids, which extend from this point to The Dalles, Ore. The United States Government is now constructing locks at this part of the Columbia, an undertaking which is said to be exceeded in cost only by the Panama Canal. (Chapter 37.)

Having procured canoes, the party embarked from opposite The Dalles, Ore., and descended the Columbia through the great gorge which cleaves the Cascade Range. Portaging

around the rapids at Cascade Locks, where Indian tradition says that the "Bridge of the Gods" formerly spanned the river, they descended the Columbia to Astoria, where they arrived February 15, 1812, nearly a month later than the detachment under Mr. McKenzie. (Chapter 38.)

Mr. Ramsay Crooks and John Day, the Kentucky hunter,—who were mentioned at the opening of this paper,—had been left behind by Mr. Hunt, since they, with four Canadians, had become too exhausted from hunger and privation to continue with the main expedition. These six having gotten together near Weiser, Idaho, started in January, 1812, to follow the tracks left in the snow by Mr. Hunt's party and, ascending Burnt River, crossed the divide into Baker Valley, where, like Mr. Hunt, they were disappointed at not finding any Indian encampment, since they were greatly in need of provisions. For some reason Indians appear not to have encamped in Baker Valley, possibly from some superstition. The Powder River is shown on the Lewis and Clark map as "Port-pel-lah," with the North Powder tributary as "Ta-kin-pa," which were names evidently learned from the Nez Perce Indians near Lewiston, Idaho. Captain Fremont mentions meeting an Indian in this valley October 15th, 1843, but his lodge was "in the mountain to the left" (Hunt Mountain). The late Hon. A. H. Brown, once the State Treasurer of Oregon, who was one of the first settlers in the Baker Valley, learned from the Indians that the valley was called by them "The Peace Valley," as there was a tradition that no battle had ever been fought here. The fact that the valley was originally caused by an earthquake, and since the city of Baker has been built an earthquake has occurred, it is possible that some superstition may have arisen in this connection.

Not finding an Indian encampment, three of the Canadians turned back to the Snake River, while the other three travelers continued along the trail of Mr. Hunt's party until they reached the Grand Ronde Valley, where there was no snow. There, about the last of March, Dubreuill, the Canadian, became exhausted and was left with a lodge of Shoshones.

Mr. Crooks and John Day, with the aid of information gained from the Indians, managed to cross the Blue Mountains, and followed the Umatilla River to the Columbia, near Umatilla, where Chief Yeck-a-tap-am befriended them. From here they followed along the route of the present Oregon-Washington Railway to the mouth of the river, which has ever since been called the John Day, where they were treacherously robbed and stripped by some Indians, after which they managed to make their way back to Chief Yeck-a-tap-am near Umatilla, whose kindness to them was afterwards rewarded by a scarlet suit, like the household of King Lemuel.

The party under Mr. Robert Stuart, which was returning from the Okanogan in Washington, fortunately picked them up and carried them to Astoria, where they arrived May 11th, 1812, nearly two months later than the second group of the overland expedition. (Chapter 41.)

While Mr. Hunt was at the junction of Hobach River and the south fork of the Snake, in what is now Uinta County, Wyoming, Carson and three other hunters were detached September 28th, 1811 (Chapter 31). After a successful hunt they were attacked and robbed by Indians and one of the trappers was killed. Carson and his two companions made their way to the Boise Valley, Idaho, where they fell in with the four Canadians who had been with Mr. Crooks and John Day. These seven were picked up by John Reed, the clerk, while on his trip, during the summer of 1812, to visit the caches at "Caldron Linn," Milner, Idaho, and they accompanied him to the post Mr. McKenzie was attempting to establish on the "Shahaptan," probably the Clearwater River, Idaho (Chapter 52). When Mr. McKenzie abandoned that post, they went with him to Astoria, where this fourth and last group of the overland expedition arrived January 15th, 1813, almost a year later than the first party to reach the goal of their long journey, and nearly two years and three months after the main expedition had left St. Louis. (Chapter 53.)

When we read of the experiences of these travelers a century ago, we can understand something of the development of civil-

ization in the West, especially when we realize that now regular trains carry passengers from St. Louis to Astoria in forty-two hours.

The charge has been made that Washington Irving was romancing when he wrote Astoria, yet from his detailed descriptions of natural features, it has now become possible to approximately identify the entire route, which lay through a formerly unknown wilderness, and in many places to almost be able to trace the footsteps of the overland expedition to Astoria.

REMINISCENCES OF SEVENTY YEARS

By William Barlow

I am now in my seventy-ninth year,¹ and have been a pretty close observer of changes and events that have taken place during my own recollection. And, if anything, a closer observer of what my parents and grandparents told me when I was young, as I was always taught to confide in all they said.

There was one of my grandfathers I never saw. He was killed or wounded unto death in the Revolutionary War. My mother and grandmother often told me what a great, patriotic grandfather I had; of this I will have more to say hereafter. Of course, all sons of Revolutionary sires have a lasting grudge of King George the Third, and a more bitter grudge against the Tories.

I will first give a history of the Barlow side of the house, as handed down from my great-grandfather Barlow. But I have no exact dates. I only know they came from Scotland long before the Revolution and settled in old Virginia. They always claimed that we had Bruce and Wallace blood in our veins.

In those days the crown appointed all the magistrates, who domineered over the people as they saw best. They did not consider the common people had any right that they were bound to respect.

One day great-grandfather Barlow was going to mill with a heavy load of grain on a sled, snow about a foot deep outside of the traveled track. The royal magistrate, with a fine cutter, prancing steeds and jingling bells, came dashing up in front of the old farmer. With a wave of his hand to turn out of the beaten track, which grandfather failed to recognize, the result was disastrous. The magistrate, cutter and all went over into the gutter. The old gent stopped his big team to assist his royal highness in getting out of his self-made unpleasantness. But instead of thanking the old gent for his kindness, he sprang to his feet, drew his sword and went for the old man. But

¹ The writer states in the body of these reminiscences that he was born on the 26th of October, 1822.

just as he got in reach, the butt of the old gent's blacksnake gave him a clip on the lug of the ear which dropped him in the beautiful snow over a foot deep. That and the blacksnake, or both together, seemed to cool the young officer off. So he got up and begged the old gent's pardon. Grandfather helped him get the rig all straightened out, and told him he had got him so he thought he could take care of himself, and each one went his own way. To grandfather's surprise, that was the last he ever heard of the affair.

My own grandfather, William Barlow, for whom I was named, followed Daniel Boone to Kentucky, and had to contend with numerous tribes of Indians. Kentucky was not claimed by any particular tribe of Indians, but held as mutual hunting ground by all the surrounding tribes. The climate and blue grass production of the soil made it a great resort and home for all the carnivorous and herbaceous wild animals of the forest that were found east of the Mississippi River. Among these were bear, panther and wolves, buffalo, elk and deer, besides all the little fry, such as foxes, coons, opossums, hogs, hedgehogs, squirrels, rabbits and wild turkeys, in unlimited quantities.

So all the first settlers had to do was to get in a little patch of corn for bread. This was pounded in a mortar, burnt out in a big stump, with a big wooden pestle. This pestle swung from a natural spring pole, by bending down a young hickory tree and tying a rawhide made of buffalo skin to the top of the little hickory sapling that was stout enough to raise the big pestle above the mortar so the corn would roll to the center of the big stump whenever the pestle went up. Thus one could have a bushel of cornmeal in a very short time. Of course, it had to be sifted through a rawhide deerskin sieve that was made at home and equally as good as the best wire ones that we use today.

Grandfather said the way they protected themselves from the numerous tribes of Indians, who made desperate efforts to keep the whites off their happy hunting ground, was by building their log houses in straight rows right opposite each other,

with a porthole or lookout on one side of the door, that could be closed up at night and opened up in the day to give light in the house. All the inmates had to observe a certain rule of rising in the morning at a stated hour, or as soon as they could see across the street, about sixty feet wide. Thus they could see if there were any redmen at their neighbors' doors. The only way the wild Indians could hope to cope with Kentucky rifles was by placing a watch at the door of each house with a tomahawk in hand to strike down the inmate as soon as he opened the door. But before the door opened each watcher, almost at the same time, fell dead at the door he was watching. There was no truce to bury the dead, but the Kentucky braves gave the red braves a decent burial all in one grave. One such occurrence as this was the last time the noble redman of the forest ever tried that plan.

Of course, the bow and arrow was no match for the Kentucky rifle, many of which the frontiersmen made themselves. My grandfather was a gunsmith and made as good accurate shooting guns as are made in this day and age of the world.

Kentucky now began to settle up in earnest, mostly from Virginia and Tennessee. Cornwallis had surrendered and Tories had to hunt their holes. Peace and quiet now reigned throughout the land. Kentucky was filling up rapidly with the F. F. V's.

My grandfather soon met and married a Miss Sarah Kimbrough, of Welsh descent. Her father moved from Virginia with all his household, including a large family of negroes, many cattle and horses, and an even half-bushel of Spanish-milled dollars, the only real land office money we had at that time that amounted to anything. This silver is now considered unsound, dishonest, corrupt fifty-cent dollars. Rag money is good enough for the common people now. I only mention this to show what a wonderful change has taken place since I was a man grown.

In 1812 war again broke out between the United States and Great Britain. I had two uncles who were old enough to shoulder a rifle. One of them made his own gun, he being a gun-

smith himself. In fact, both of them were fine mechanics at anything in the iron or steel line. Both of them were strongly solicited not to enter the ranks, but to enter the armory corps as mechanics, to repair and keep guns in order. Uncle Jim said that would suit him better than to be set up as a target for redcoats' muskets, but Uncle John said he volunteered to shoot redcoats and he was going to do that or he would go home. So each one got his wishes granted.

But Uncle Jim made the most money, had the easiest time and saw the most fun. He was a great hand to tell jokes and anecdotes, particularly on the Irish. He used to tell one with a great deal of eclat about a couple of Irish soldiers when they were lying at barracks. They called him master armorer, as he was head mechanic at the armory. The Irish boys came rushing in one evening both out of breath.

"Master armorer, master armorer, me and my comrade here has got a wager of a dollar apiece and a quart of whiskey."

"Well, what is it, my boys?"

"Well, my friend and comrade here bets me a dollar that he can drink this quart of whiskey all at one time and live till morning. Now, if he is here in the morning a live man, you give him the two dollars. But if he is not here at six o'clock in the morning the money is mine. Is that stated right, comrade?"

"Just right, just right, and I'll get the money, whiskey and all, and divil a bit will I give ye."

Next morning a little after six o'clock the head spokesman came bounding in.

"Master armorer, give me the money."

"Is your comrade dead?"

"Och, and he is as straight (and stiff, too) as a shingle. Darn fool, I told him so, but he said it was just like finding the two dollars and getting the whiskey besides."

Uncle John's regiment had gone to New Orleans—

Where Pakenham had made his brags, if he and fight were lucky,
He would have his gals in cotton bags, in spite of old Kentucky.
But Jackson he was wide awake, and wasn't dazed at trifles,
For well he knew what aim we take with our Kentucky rifles.

Pakenham had at least three to our one of regular British soldiers. He came on with all the pomp and dash of a Wellington. Jackson said: "Hold your fire, my boys, until you can see the whites of their eyes."

When the word was given all along the line to "make ready, take aim, fire," Uncle John said it seemed as though the whole British army went down at once.

Jackson again commanded, "Keep cool, my boys, take your time, load your rifles well, so every ball will tell, then give them plenty of time to rally and close up the ranks. We are perfectly safe; no ball will go through these cotton bales."

So the second charge was worse than the first.

Then Pakenham made a third desperate effort at the head of his invincibles, as he called them. But the third time he went down with them with a Kentucky ball through his most vital parts. All was lost; nobody to rally them, and army demoralized.

We had lost nothing, comparatively speaking. We had killed more than our whole army numbered, Uncle John said.

Jackson declined to follow them, and said: "Let them go; we have no guns to sink their ships, but we can whip them on land as fast they come ashore."

Uncle John told us that Pakenham was corked up in a cask of whiskey and shipped back to England, but when the vessel arrived in Liverpool the general was there, but the brandy was gone. On investigation, it was found that the cask had a spigot in it or gimlet hole with plug in it that could be drawn any time. The sailors evidently thought that anything that would preserve flesh would have the same effect on their stomachs.

So that ended the war of 1812. In fact, this battle was fought long after peace was declared. Henry Clay, one of our peace commissioners at Ghent, won a thousand guineas from one of

the English peace commissioners on that battle. One of the English lords, after the treaty of peace was signed, said, "I will now bet a thousand guineas that New Orleans is in possession of Lord Pakenham." Henry Clay said, "Draw your check for that amount. Here is mine."

Now I will go back and fetch up the mother's side of the house. My grandfather Lee was a thoroughbred Protestant Irishman. Had it not been for the great rivalry between the Catholics and Protestants, Ireland would have been an independent state long before our Revolutionary War.

Great-grandfather Lee fought clear through the Flanders war, seven years for the crown, then rebelled and fought seven years against the crown. At the end, he and many others were overpowered and surrendered as prisoners of war. All the officers of high rank had to lie in a dungeon one hundred feet under ground and live on half an allowance of bread and water for one year. All who lived the time out and could pay 500 pounds sterling to the crown could go free.

Great-grandfather was one that lived the time out and was able to pay the fine. He called his two sons, William and Frank (William was my grandfather) to his bedside, as he was yet too feeble to be out. He said: "My sons, I am getting old and feeble; I am broke down and almost broke up. I will have to stay here, but I want you both to go right to America. Some day that will be a free and independent country. It is too large and there are too many independent, free-thinking people there to be corralled by any of the King George tyrants. Scotch, Irish and English Liberals are getting over there as fast as they can, and they are just the material that will fight for freedom."

So when the Declaration of Independence was declared Grandfather Lee was one of the first to volunteer for service during the war. He was lieutenant of a home-made battery in Charleston, South Carolina, and when the British fleet came into the harbor he was ordered to swab and test one of the new castings. Unfortunately it burst all to pieces and shattered one of grandfather's legs, so he was disabled for the balance of the war. He got well enough, however, to raise a hearty and hardy

family of sons and daughters. But about the time the family was all grown, the old veteran took sick and died, while his wife was hale and hearty. The boys and girls were young and stout, so they all thought while the family was all together they would emigrate to a newer, richer and healthier state. So they sold out and moved to the State of Kentucky. After remaining there two years, they concluded they would try a free state, so crossed over to Indiana, which had recently become a state.

My father, Samuel Kimbrough Barlow, about the same time had left Ketnucky and gone over to Indiana to try his fortune in a free state. There he met, wooed and married one of the Lee girls, Miss Susannah Lee, who was my mother. A nobler woman never breathed the breath of life. She lived to raise her family and came to Oregon in 1845. She died on the place that I now live on and was almost worshipped by all who knew her.

It was from her that I got my first idea of gold mines. She was born and raised in the State of South Carolina, and at that time such a thing as gold or silver mines were never heard of west of the Mississippi. But she would tell us children about the great gold mines of South Carolina. She said she knew a man there who had a gold mine on his own land and owned the negroes that worked it. Said his income was one dollar a minute; that is, if the negroes came up to their task. This was to fill a goose quill an inch and a half long every day, and any over that was to be put in the darkey's sack. In case the darkey failed to have dust enough to fill the goose quill, any day, it was filled out of the negroe's surplus sack; but if the darkey had no dust in this sack to make up the deficiency, he was stripped to the bare back and the overseer was compelled to hit him a lick with the rawhide for every troy grain short.

Now, I will take up my own father's life and what brought him to Oregon. In the first place, he was a great admirer of Henry Clay, more particularly on account of Clay's being a strong believer in the emancipation of the negroes. He thought he was the greatest natural statesman that ever lived, but I think

no more so than was Lincoln. They were both poor boys and had to struggle for a living. Clay was the son of a poor widow and went to mill with a sack on a mule's back, borrowed books and read by fire, not torchlight. Lincoln did the same thing, only he did not have to support a widowed mother. Clay was elected to Congress when a very young man and was speaker of the house almost all the time. He came very near getting beat by voting for the enormous salary of \$1500 per year for Congressmen instead of \$5 per day, as they had been getting; but the next election the Democrats brought that against him with powerful effect. This is the way he defended himself: Without trying to justify himself in the least, one of his most substantial friends was selected to notify him of his doom. This old appointee, with rifle in hand and tears in his eyes, approached Clay with almost death silence.

"Well, Henry, I have been appointed to notify you that we can't stand that \$1500 salary."

"John," he said, "please let me look at your gun. That looks like a good gun, or has been a good gun."

"Yes, and it is just as good as it ever was."

"Well, John, doesn't it sometimes flash in the pan?"

"Yes, but very seldom."

"Well, what do you do with it then, John?"

"Oh, I just pick the flint and try it again."

"Well, can't you pick the flint and try me again?"

"We will, we will!" sounded a hundred voices.

Well, from that time on Henry Clay held Kentucky in the hollow of his hand. But like all or most all of our most brilliant men, he never could be elected President of the United States. But when his last defeat by James K. Polk, of Tennessee, a man comparatively unknown, came to Clay, this was a little more than the old gent, my father, S. K. Barlow, could stand. He said he would leave the states that did not recognize their great statesman and go to Oregon. By the time Oregon became a state he expected he and Clay would both be dead. But Polk made a better president than the old gentleman thought he would. He was really elected as an Oregon man,

and "54-40-or-fight" was what made him president. But he did not carry out his "54-40-or-fight," either.

I voted for Clay, myself being 22 years old in 1844, though I never regretted Polk's election as Clay had never committed himself on the boundary question. Father always said, Clay would have had 54-40 and would not have had to fight either. Of course, Canada and British Columbia should belong to the United States by natural boundaries. I have always thought it strange, that we did not exact it at the close of the last war with Great Britain. In fact, we had virtually taken Canada. Had whipped England at Plattsburg and on Lake Erie and could have taken Quebec from the rear without any trouble. But the Briton had sued for peace and always were the shrewdest diplomats. We never, never valued the North Pole as much as they did. But now with Alaska, we would have the whole North American continent except Mexico. This acquisition without Mexico would be worth to us more than all Asia and Africa put together; in fact, we do not want those countries, all of them or any of them. Even the Sandwich Islands are detrimental to us and we are going to have trouble about them some day. The delegates selected to our Congress will try to seat the old Kanaka squaw on the throne. Of course that will not be done. But just as we are now, we are the greatest and most powerful nation on the globe. But expansion was Spain's downfall and it will be the fate of England some day and who knows how it will affect America?

Now, I will commence back with father in 1836 at Bridgeport, Indiana, ten miles west of Indianapolis. My father was owner and proprietor of the little town situated in a densely timbered country. There were five boys and two girls of us, all growing up fast. We were making a good backwood's living, by making at home everything we ate, drank and wore. But to stay there and wear ourselves out in that white oak timber and on land not very productive, even when it was got in cultivation, was more than the old folks thought they could stand. Hearing there was land already cleared in Illinois, the adjoining state, and having a fair offer as they thought for their In-

diana farm, they accepted \$1600.00 for the 160 acres less what had been sold off in town lots, probably about 25 or 30 acres.

But now came the sticking point. This money was to be paid in land office script. Jackson had just vetoed the United States National Bank bill, the notes of which had always been land office money; State Bank paper, Father would not look at. There was no gold in the country and very little silver. So they struck out for Indianapolis and had to give 5 per cent premium for Mexican silver dollars, which was best money we had then in the United States, and was land office money at that.

So the old gent thought he would make a sale and sell off all his loose property. I recollect just how he wrote out the notice, and that has been sixty-five years ago.

"Gentlemen, I will say to you, that I will sell at a vendue:

"Horses, hogs, sheep and cattle, plows and hoes and chains that rattle,

"And some fine honey bees, and things as good as these."

The sale came off, which added a few hundred dollars more to our farm money, and had to take that in any kind of money that was in circulation.

But before he started with his family, he thought it best to go on alone on horseback and select a location. The Black Hawk War was over, and no fears were entertained in traveling through Illinois and Iowa; but by two going together for company, it would make it more pleasant. So Uncle John Thompson, a good old Baptist preacher, said he would go along, if father would agree to take in Iowa, as he was very anxious to get out of the woods, and go where he said God had done the clearing. So they started early in the Spring to look at the cleared-land country, which they were delighted with. They said they could put in a hundred acres quicker and cheaper than they could put in ten acres in Indiana. They went clear up to Lake Michigan, where Chicago now stands. It was then an Indian trading post. A man there had jumped a quarter section of land and offered to sell his right to it for \$400.00, and the improvements on the place were worth the money Father said, "I believe I will buy that place. Some day there will be a great town right here."

"Nonsense," said Uncle John. "Do you think any man of common sense would live where it takes two men to hold his hat on?"

Just then a big puff of wind from the Lake lifted my father's hat high in the air. When he had recovered it, he said, "Well, John, I don't know but that you are about right. We will go south where there is more timber."

They had already been down about Peoria, Fulton and Knox counties; now they could go back that way and select a place to move the family. Father was well pleased without going any further. Uncle John said he did not care to go over into Iowa then, as he had not sold out and did not know when he could. So father selected Farmington for his rendezvous until he could look up vacant land with timber and prairie land joining.

After being gone just six weeks he came back to Indiana. We were soon on the road, as we had our teams and wagons all ready; three yokes of oxen to one wagon and a good span of horses to another. It was at this time that I first saw a friction match. Father went up to Indianapolis to buy a little outfit for the trip; the storekeeper said here is something you should have, as you are going to camp out all the way, and this box will beat your old flintsteel and punk a hundred times. They are something new, but they will all go and never miss fire. They are worth twenty-five cents a box and there are over a hundred in a box. They will start you a hundred fires and so much quicker. So father took them, as they only came to one coon skin anyway.

In a few days we were on the road to Farmington, Illinois. We crossed the Illinois river at Peoria, twenty-five miles from Farmington. We moved into an old log house close to town that cost us nothing for the use of it; bought a cow or two and we herded the horses and cow on the commons.

Father struck out for the land office at Quincy to get field notes of certain townships where he might select the land that he wanted to buy. But he could not find any prairie and timber land joining, but selected three 80-acre lots of smooth

prairie and one 80-acre lot of timber two miles off. We moved right on the place, made a sod house, hired a lot of men, all good choppers, and one good hewer. Paid seventy-five cents for the choppers each and one dollar for the hewer per day and board. In a few weeks, we had up a big hewed log house a story and a half high. We had two rooms twenty feet square with a twelve-foot entry between them. It was the finest house in the county and a good house when we left for Oregon in 1845. We broke, fenced and had more land in cultivation in one year than we could have had in Indiana in ten years with the same help. We remained on that place until March 30, 1845. Had been there nine years but only raised eight crops. But never got two good wheat crops during that time. Oats and corn were always good, but prices were poor, ten cents a bushel for oats and twelve and a half for corn, and that in store pay. Pork brought from a dollar and a half to two and a half a hundred pounds, but that always brought cash; cash money had to be paid for taxes. We came out about even every year, though we were never in debt.

We were all about gone now; had lost one brother, Eli, the brightest one of the family.

We could sell out now and make fine outfit for Oregon. We could have laid out a thousand dollars for young cattle, which would have made us a fortune in Oregon, but the old gent thought he would better keep his money than take chances by the stock being run off by the Indians.

March 30th, 1845, arrived. Well, now we are off for Oregon, the land of sundown. We had four wagons, four yoke of oxen to one wagon and three to each of the others. They were all young, well-broken cattle, and could trot like horses. With wagons loaded light, they could walk off twenty-five or thirty miles a day easy. People came from far and near to bid us a last farewell, as they said. We had enough for an army of well-drilled soldiers to undertake without helpless women and children. Our outfit had a good effect, for in '47 there were quite a number came from that neighborhood. The Grimes and Geers came first, as they said they would follow us soon.

We rolled on without a hitch, crossed the Mississippi at Quincy, Illinois, and the Missouri river at Utica, Missouri. Went up on the south side all the way to Independence, where the grand start was to be made. There we lost one yoke of oxen, strayed or stolen, we never knew which, but they were the only animals we lost on the whole trip. Bought another yoke of oxen for twenty-two dollars and two or three cows for five dollars a head, to give milk on the road. We wanted father to buy one hundred cows, as he could have got them for five or six dollars apiece, and could get plenty of young men to drive them just for their board. Of course, we would have to furnish them each a horse or mule. Mules were better for the trip, but American mares were more profitable. When we got to Oregon father sold a young American mare, bought in Missouri, and which he had ridden nearly all the time, for \$300.00 in Oregon City. I bought a nice yearling filly and traded her for a half a section of land on the Clackamas river, six miles from Oregon City. If we had bought American cows they would have been worth from \$75.00 to \$100.00 each in Oregon. But we did not do it; if we had it would have changed our whole lives. We would only have had to go up the valley on account of range and could have sold out the first year. But we got a hundred and fifty dollars for what oxen we had to sell. Of course, it was all in Oregon currency, which were orders on any of the stores in Oregon City, from Ermatinger to Abernethy. But these orders would bring flour and money, which we needed.

Now, I will go back to Independence, Missouri, and fix for starting across the great American desert, as a great many thought it was. But now it is the richest part of the United States, and it has furnished the gold and silver to make the balance of the country blossom like a rose; and if they had not have demonetized silver it could have blossomed like a hundred roses. Of course, this demonetization set the country back at least a hundred years. For without gold and silver at the old parity of 16 to 1, we would have had no use for the worthless rag money which we can heap all together, and

touch a match to and in five minutes you would have nothing but an irredeemable and irrecoverable heap of ashes. But if you could put all the gold and silver together and melt it down it would be worth just as much as it ever was, less the mintage. Besides, it would give employment to millions of people, that would give us a better market for our produce than all Europe ever has given us. Whenever a man tells me that there is not just as sound metal and just as good metal in silver as there is in gold to make an honest dollar, I will tell you he is either a knave or a fool, and should be either in the penitentiary or the asylum, according to his intellect, for he is a dangerous man in either case.

But you must excuse me for getting off the subject every once in a while, but I have to cross the streams whenever I come to them, and every stream develops something new. So when I wish, if anything looms up before me, I will have to disagree and investigate the new subject.

But now we are at Independence again, five thousand strong or five thousand weak, if women and children could be considered weak. At least, two-thirds of our company were women and children, and we had a thousand wagons at least.

The first thing to do was to organize. We called a representative meeting, elected a big captain over all, and one little captain over every forty or fifty wagons, each company elected its own captain and he appointed his lieutenants, etc. But it soon all became etc. and etc. The guard was kept up for some time, and we stopped and started when the captain ordered. He always went on to look out a camping ground, taking into consideration wood, water and grass.

My father was captain of a company all the way. He very seldom had anybody with him, though he would sometimes be miles and miles ahead of his company.

Sometimes he would meet or overtake big bands of Indians and would always stop and talk with them, and give them more or less tobacco. He must have given away several hundred pounds of tobacco, which he had laid in for that purpose before he started. The Indians got to know him all along the route.

He would go to their camps, call for their chief, get down off his horse, take off his saddle and give his horse and lariat to the chief, who would send him out with some young boy to good grass. He would talk, smoke and eat with the chief, and his horse would be brought up in the morning looking fine. The boy always was given a plug of tobacco and the old chief several plugs. But if the old gent had sneaked off and tried to hide, the Indians would most likely have stolen his horse and maybe killed him. But this did not happen.

After he got to The Dalles, father went on to Tygh Valley to look for a starting point for going through the Cascade mountains with his wagons. We had hired Steve Meek, brother of Joe Meek, to pilot the emigrants clear through to The Dalles, for one dollar a wagon and board.

He said he knew every trail and camping ground from Fort Laramie to Vancouver, west of the Cascade mountains. But he proved himself to be a reckless humbug from start to finish. All he had in view was to get the money and a white woman for a wife before he got through. He got the wife and part of the money. He and his company then went on and made a stand at the mouth of the Malheur river, which empties into the Snake River, where, he said, he could make a cut-off that would take them to The Dalles before we could get to the Grand Ronde Valley. This route, he said, would give them plenty of wood, water and grass all the way, and there would be no Blue Mountain to cross, which he described as almost impassable. The result was the whole emigration had gone clear through the Dalles six weeks before this company was heard of. He had got lost and did not know where he was. He told those with him he would fetch them through all right and they were afraid to desert him or discharge him, for fear they would all perish. Finally, after they had all lost a portion of their stock, and a large number of the people had perished, they came in sight of the Deschutes river. But the perpendicular basaltic walls prevented them from reaching the water, so they had to follow down the river on top of the bluff for miles before they could get a drink of water to cool their

parched lips. One night, Meek took his wife and ponies and disappeared in the darkness; he got across the Deschutes river at the mouth of Tygh creek, got dried salmon and other provisions from the Indians (for he was at home when he was with them) and struck out on the Mount Hood trail. That was what saved his life, as vengeance was sworn against him. I never knew what became of him, but I understood from his brother that Stephen Meek settled in Southern Oregon and Joe would have nothing to do with him.

Now, I have got Steve Meek through and disposed of, I will go back to the big Kaw River, right among the Kaw Indians, where Kansas City now stands. They were the first tribe of Indians on the route that we had to meet, and were a noble, fine-looking Indian, and they treated us fine. They were about to start on a buffalo hunt up the Big Platte River but they were in fearful dread of the Sioux Indians, for they claimed all the buffalo on the Big Platte River.

But the Kaws disputed their right to all the buffalo, but if the two tribes happened to come together there was sure to be bloodshed, unless the Kaws could get back to their own hunting ground. But none of them molested us in the least.

So we rolled on until we struck the North Platte River at Ash Hollow, where, according to arrangements at the start, we were all to go into camp and let the big chief, Captain Welch, take the lead. But there were four or five companies ahead of us, the Barlow company; but when we got there there were no companies to be seen; so from that time on each company was an independent company of its own, and the "Devil take the hindmost," was the saying.

Grass was good and water plenty, but wood was not very plentiful. But we had a good substitute in the way of buffalo chips. We soon came in sight of vast herds of buffalo, and close by, as we thought. But when we started to go to them, we found they were from five to eight miles away. To further illustrate this illusion, when we came in sight of Chimney Rock, some of the young men took their guns, said they would go around by the rock and get on top of it, then overtake the

teams before time to camp. It was then about ten o'clock. We moved on at a good rate for ox teams, and we just got opposite the rock at camping time. Some of the men who went on to it and went up on top did not get in that night. It was a least fifteen miles away.

Buffalo from that time on were in unknown quantities. I am sure we could see five thousand head at once in lots of places, and wolves were very nearly as thick. Some of the boys made a terrible slaughter both among the buffalo and wolves. They just shot them down to see them fall, did not even skin them and the hides were worth from four to eight dollars each. Father called a meeting of his company, and admonished the boys in the kindest kind of words, not to kill any more than just enough for meat. For, he said, it was robbing the Indians of their natural food and might arouse the wrath of the great Sioux nation, whose country we were now crossing. He said, as long as we went straight through and did not kill too many of their buffalo, they would not molest us. Up to this time, we had not had a mishap. No sickness, but peace and kindness reigned supreme. Stock had actually improved all the time, but just now (and as I kept no diary I cannot give the date, but it was way up in June) we had quite a mishap. Somebody's untrained, worthless dog (something that should not have been allowed on the road) had gone over the bank of the Big Platte River to cool off. He stayed there until all the teams had passed. The loose stock was just coming up some distance behind, when the big dog made a bound from the water to the top of the bank and gave himself a big shake to throw the water out of his hair. Away went the cows, horses, bulls and all, with such a rattle and jam that it would almost raise the hair on a dead man's head. When the stampede started, the animals were half a mile behind the wagons, which was the distance they were allowed to keep. But on they came with renewed fury at every bound. The old Captain, who happened to be back with his company, took in the situation at a glance, clapped spurs to his noble mare and bounded along the line with a trumpet voice to those in

the wagons to halt and drop their wagon tongues. But it was too late for all to accomplish. Some of the hind teams were all ready on hearing the order. Our four family wagons and Gaines' two were ahead that day. James Barlow's big team was in the lead, but failed to stop when he said "whoa." So he dropped his lead ox in his tracks with the butt of his whip stock. J. M. Bacon's team was next. In this wagon, Mother Barlow rode, and it had to stop as it was jammed up against James' wagon. That gave mother time to jump out and run to the bank of the river about twenty yards off and jump down the bank, only a few feet high. I had been quick enough to get my team loose from the wagon, but J. L. Barlow and Gaines' two teams got under considerable headway, but fortunately one of Gaines' oxen fell down, and that was more than the balance of the team could pull. This gave my sister, Mrs. Gaines, good time to get out with the baby, about a year old, and get down the bank of the river. She always said that that ox-broken neck saved her life, as she was just fixing to jump, and it might have been her neck instead of the ox's. It was her natural disposition to make the best of everything.

The cleanup of this stampede were a few broken wagon tongues, a few smashed-up wagon wheels, one ox with a broken neck, another with a broken leg and two days' layover for repairs. Fortunately, no human being was even crippled. Some were slightly bruised, but at the end of the second day everybody was ready to move. Cattle were well refreshed and getting restless. We found the best plan was to make a drive every day. Cattle stayed together better and did not try to wander off. I have no recollection of our company's losing a single head on the way, though a few oxen got sore feet and had to be taken out and driven with the loose cattle for a few days. But that was on account of wagons' being too heavily loaded.

We had one old deadbeat whom we called "Noey" and his wagon "Noey's Ark." He had one span of mares and one yoke of cows and both of them gave milk, which was the principal nourishment he had for half a dozen children, himself

and wife. His wagon beds were built close out to the wheels, so it took about a half-acre of ground to turn on. The object was to make the bed large enough to hold all the worthless rubbish that he could not sell or give away before he started. He said the things might come in mighty good play when he got through. But he never would have gotten through if it had not been for my old mother. He did not belong to our company. We found him camped by himself, his company had gone off and left him several days before. Mother said, "We must not leave him there to be butchered by the Indians." But father did not think the Indians would molest him, as he had nothing that they would have. But if everybody went off and left him, he would starve or freeze to death when winter came on. So the old gent went to see him and told him he could join us, if he would let us overhaul his wagon and throw out every worthless article. His wife began to cry and said they would need everything when they got through. But the old gent said, "You will never get through with that load and old team." So they finally consented to be overhauled. The old gent called two or three of the best men of the company to come and overhaul the wagon; they took everything out that was in it, and a more worthless lot of trash was never seen. They put back what few necessities they had, such as bed clothes, wearing apparel and all the provisions they had, but that was very light. It lightened up his wagon more than half, so his old cows and mares could waddle along and keep up for awhile. But we could not stop the whole company to wait on him. We had got him across the Big Platte River and up to Fort Laramie, where he could get all the jerked buffalo meat he wanted for almost nothing. There were thousands of Indians coming in then from their big buffalo hunt with tons of jerked meat and hundreds of buffalo robes to trade for Indian goods at the Fort. So mother fitted Noey and his family out with quite a supply of provisions, such as bacon, flour, coffee, sugar and so forth. She told them they must take their time and try and get through. I don't know whether she told them she would pray for them, but I do know

she did pray for all the poor and needy, every night, and she certainly could not leave them out, because she knew their circumstances.

Now, I have written this simple fact to illustrate what I have always said about the privations and starvations of the dear old emigrants. I will now say again, for myself and our company, that I never passed a more pleasant, cheerful and happy summer in my whole long life, and see no reason why the others cannot agree with this statement. We never had any sickness nor fear of any, more than we would have had in the oldest state in the Union, until we ran into the Cascade Mountains. Up to that time, we never had an obstacle in the way that we could not easily overcome. We forded every stream from the Big Kaw, where Kansas City now stands, to Oregon City, and we never doubled our teams to get over any hills or mountains that I can recollect. We never lost a horse, cow, nor ox on the entire trip.

When we got to Fort Hall, on the Snake River, we laid by a day or two. Some of our company wanted to go to California and here was where the roads parted. But my father said he was going to drive his teams into the Willamette Valley. Superintendent Grant, of Fort Hall, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, was present, and remarked, "Well, we have been here many years and we never have taken a pack train over those mountains yet, but if you say you will take your wagons over the mountains, you will do it. The darned Yankees will go anywhere they say they will." So the next morning, a mutual and friendly division took place. About half the wagons took the California road and the remaining twenty wagons continued on the Oregon route. Our family company, consisting of thirteen wagons, traveled down the Snake River on the south side and crossed it the first time at the Great American Falls; thence over to Boise River to its mouth at Fort Boise. We then crossed Snake River again, the deepest river we had forded. We raised our wagon beds about one foot and got nothing wet. We then went down the Snake River to the mouth of the Malheur. There Steve Meek was

waiting to get a crowd for his famous cut-off that would save more than half the distance to The Dalles, he thought. There the Geers, Moores and Sweets bid us goodbye and said they would wait for us at The Dalles. But we got to The Dalles six weeks before they did, besides they had lost two or three of their family.

At this camp the old gent lost a fine Indian pony that he had bought to rest and recruit his fine American mare, and that was the only animal we lost from start to finish.

Nothing transpired from there on to The Dalles that requires special notice, except the peculiar way we had to cross the Deschutes River.

We had to drive out into the Columbia River and strike the sandbar made by the Deschutes River and circle around on that to reach the bank of the Columbia River below the mouth of the Deschutes.

We were now nearing The Dalles, where decision had to be made about tackling the supposed impracticable mountains. It was early in the fall, somewhere close to October, and we had plenty of provisions to last us two months and our teams were in good condition, or would be by having a few days' rest on good grass. I knew the old captain was determined to go through the mountains. He said, "God never made a mountain that He had not made a place for a man to go over it or under it, if he could find the place," and, he said, "I am going to hunt for that place." But he further remarked he did not ask anyone but his own family to go with him, and wanted no one to go who knew what the word "can't" meant. So we drove out to Five-Mile Creek, where there was wood, water and plenty of good grass. He said we could stay there and look after the stock and the women could wash and clean up as much as they wished, until he got back from a little reconnoitre to look out for a starting point. He had his eye on a low sink in the mountains just south of Mt. Hood ever since we had crossed the Blue Mountains. Our company was now reduced down to thirteen wagons, all good teams, and were well provided with provisions and tools. But the old gent said

we will divide up so all should share alike who went with him.

We had a young fat cow which he would kill and divide.

In a few days the old gent got back from his preliminary survey and reported everything favorable as far as he went. He had been about sixty or seventy miles. By this time, W. H. Rector caught up with him and said he would go, too, if Captain Barlow would let him. "Why, yes, you are just the man I am looking for; young, stout and resolute." Although his wife was a very weakly woman, she was anxious to make the venture.

Well, in two or three days the start was made. All were stout and hearty, both old and young, except Mrs. Rector, and her lack of physical strength was somewhat made up by mental energy.

Our teams were fresh and buoyant and walked right along. We made Tygh Creek the first day, it being twenty-five or thirty miles from our camp. Here we laid over one day to let the teams eat and rest, as we had a long steep hill to pull up and would have no water for about fifteen miles. A canyon had to be crossed that would require some pluck to cross it with a wagon. But when we had passed these barriers, we found plenty of wood, water and grass. The old gent said he would cross the canyon so our cattle could not get back. It was a deep bluff canyon and there was no other crossing for miles either way. Father had already examined the location on his first trip out, as a good point to start from.

So the next morning the old gent said he would take Mr. Rector and go ahead, hunt and blaze out the best place to make the wagon road. The balance of us could follow up and cut out the road. We would leave a man or two in camp to look after the stock and attend to the wants of the women and children. There were about twelve of us who could do a man's work. Mother wanted me to stay, and Mrs. Rector wanted one of her sons to stay, the only one who was large enough to work.

At this time we killed our heifer, so the men would have plenty of meat. Besides we had plenty of bacon and flour to

last a month or over. The only thing we were deficient in was good tools. Of course, we had saws and axes, but they were in bad condition, and we had only a small grindstone and a few worn-out files. But there was very little heavy timber to cut. The timber and brush on the east side of the Cascades is very different from that on the west side. Over a portion of the east side one can drive a team right through the timber.

Days and weeks had now passed and we had no tidings yet of the pathfinders. We had made only one move of ten or twelve miles, in order to be closer to our workers who were cutting the road. The road was now cut out to the head or source of the Little Deschutes River close up to Mt. Hood. Some of the men had gone down to the river over a very long but not a very steep hill. But we concluded not to go down with our wagons until the blazers returned. For if we had to go back, we did not want to have to climb that hill.

A day or two after this, just about dark, the keen crack of the old gent's rifle rang out with joyous hopes of glad tidings. In an instant, the boys sprang to their rifles and answered the salute with a half-dozen shots that made the woods ring for miles around. The air was light and the vibration was beautiful. Then the old pathfinder's rifle rang out again close at hand. "Tallows" were lit and men, women and children went with a rush to meet the stalwarts. I will pass over the meeting of the husbands and wives. The first thing the old gent said was, "Don't give us anything to eat. A little coffee is all we need now. It will be food and stimulant enough." Rector said, "You can speak for yourself, but I am going to eat something. You would not let me eat those big snails and now I am going to eat whatever my wife will cook for me." But his wife was very cautious about what she gave him. Mother gave father only a little coffee and a very little bread. Then he smoked his pipe and that revived him very much. After a little more coffee, mother had a good feather bed for him and he went to bed and slept sound all night, and was almost as fresh as ever in the morning.

Up to that time, there had not been a word said about the trip, but next morning all hands wanted to know the result of their preliminary journey.

"We have found a good route to make a road," my father said.

"Yes," Rector said, "the route we have blazed out is a good, practical route, and if Mrs. Rector were as stout and healthy as I am we would go through. But if anything should happen to her I would never forgive myself. We talked it over last night, and I think I will take my wagon and go back to The Dalles."

Father said: "Mr. Rector, you are at perfect liberty to do as you please. If I had any fear of losing even any of my company on account of the road, I would not say go. But we can go on and in one day from right here we can reach within two or three miles of the summit. Then, if you think best, we can build a good house and cache everything in it. We will send the cattle over the trail. Some of the young men will be willing to stay and look after the goods for ten dollars a wagon and I will send back provisions to keep them all winter."

William Berry said that was right to his hand. I said, "I would be another. Besides, I would go in and fetch the winter grub out myself. That is, if we had to, for we did not know but that we might get through.

Now, when we arrived at the selected spot, it was already getting late in the season, away up in November. The days were short and snow was liable to cover us up at any time.

So it was decided to build a house, send the stock over the Indian trail that went over Mt. Hood, high enough to be on perpetual snow. The Indians always made their trails over the highest ground they could find. Though the distance might be twice as far, they preferred the high land, as tomahawks and scalping knives are poor tools to cut out logs and big trees. When they came to a big log that they could not go around or jump their ponies over, they would hack a notch in it just wide enough to let a pony squeeze through. The small-

ness of these openings made it hard to get some of our big cattle through. Some of the emigrants had a number of head killed or crippled in this way. But our little band got through without a scratch. The bulk of all the cattle and horses went over the Mt. Hood trail that fall and some families rode over on oxen's and cows' backs. Old Mother Hood rode all way from The Dalles to Oregon City on a cow's back.

But most of the families went down the Columbia River on the Hudson's Bay bateaus. They left their wagons at The Dalles and often found them cut up by the Indians and the spokes of the wheels used for whip handles. Some few got their wagons down that fall on rafts to the Cascades and then hauled them from there down with teams, or got them taken down and up to Portland on bateaus. This cost them about all each wagon was worth.

To return to the summit. The bulk of the men were at work building the mountain cache. I took three of the young men and started over Mt. Hood with all the stock except the horses, which were left to carry out the women and children. I had a horse to ride as I was to go back as soon as I got the stock over Mt. Hood. This took only two days. Then I started back to camp, being gone just three days.

The house was pretty well along, considering the tools, and the men who had to do the work. Albert P. Gaines and William Berry were the principal workmen. Both could handle tools well, but the others were mere supernumeraries. The old gent was now almost worn out. Bacon was a good hand with a needle and thread, and he was kept busy fixing up clothing for the men. We had eleven or twelve wagons, and it required a large house to hold all the plunder and the three men that were going to stay all winter. But one of the men backed out, so I agreed to go below and come back with provisions and stay at least six months. About the first of December, everything was packed away nice and snug. House as tight as a jug, all the cracks chinked up with moss, a good store of food and mountains of good dry wood. We had a few books, which would serve to while away the time. In fact,

enough of everything to make any lazy man feel happy. Up to this time there had been no snow at all. Berry went up to the top of the summit with us. We had left him provisions enough for one month, and with a good gun there were plenty of fine squirrels that he could kill.

All went well with the emigrants until we started down on the Oregon side of the Cascades. We called it Oregon, as that was all the habitable part of Oregon then. Then the real simon-pure hard times commenced. There were huckleberry swamps to wallow through as best we could; women and children had to be carried off of their horse's back to let the horse get out of the mire, if he could, and if he could not we had to pry him out. Of course, these swamps were only in spots. The old gent expected to corduroy all these places before he took the wagons over them. But they were worse than he thought, as he had only crossed them on foot. But when we went to put horses on them, packed with heavy loads, they went down frequently. So we moved very slowly, only from three to five miles a day. It commenced snowing and that covered up the grass and our horses had to browse on the laurel.

We were now at the top of Laurel Hill. We camped for the night and there was about twelve inches of snow on the ground. One of our best horses died from eating laurel. The old gent saved his harness and brought it up to camp. Mother said, "Poor, old Grey is dead, but I hope his meat is good, and we will not starve so long as we can eat horse meat." Mrs. Caplinger broke down at this and commenced crying right out. Mrs. Gaines, my oldest sister, said, "What is the matter?" Mrs. Caplinger replied, "We are all going to freeze and starve to death right here." "Nonsense," said Mrs. Gaines, "we are right in the midst of plenty. Plenty of wood to make fires, plenty of horses to make meat, plenty of snow to make water, so when it comes to starving here is your old dog as fat as butter and he will last us a week." "Would you eat my old dog?" "Yes, if he were the last dog in the world," Mrs. Gaines concluded.

But alarm was in the air and fear prompted William Barlow and J. M. Bacon to push on to Foster's for more supplies. In the morning bright and early we started on ahead for the valley with a little coffee and four small biscuits as our share of the provisions. We took only a dull chopping ax and a pair of blankets as our outfit. We went down Laurel Hill like shot off of a shovel. In less than two hours we had to look back to see any snow. We soon struck the Big Sandy trail where thousands of cattle and horses had passed along. There was no trouble to follow the trail now; at this point the new Barlow road ended. The only trouble was in crossing the stream that ran like water from a floodgate, and the number of crossings were too numerous to keep any account of. The water was very nearly as cold as ice, but at most of the crossings we found drifts or boulders that we managed to cross on without getting wet. I carried the ax and coffee, Bacon carried the biscuit. But when we got down to the last crossing of the Big Sandy, it was getting late in the evening. The river was wide and still rising; there was no way to cross without swimming or cutting a tree down that stood on the bank about one hundred yards above the ford. There was a rock island right in the middle of the river, and I saw that all the water was running on our side of the stream. It was quite narrow from bank to rock, not over forty feet. I said to Bacon, "If we can get that tree down and lodged on the rock, unless it breaks it two it will make a good crossing." "Yes," he said, "but we have nothing but that old dull ax and I can't chop." I knew that without his telling me, for he was a sailor by trade. So I went at it, and in about an hour the tree fell, but broke in two and went sailing down the river. All I could say was, "Well, John, we will make a big fire under that cedar tree and make a pot of coffee and our four biscuits will make us a good meal. But in the morning I am going to cross that stream." John drew a long breath, then said, "Well, I am sorry and ashamed to tell you, but I lost those biscuits in the river, in jumping from one boulder to another. I tripped and fell and away went the bread, and you know no human being could catch them."

"Yes," I said, "I know it would be hard to catch anything after it was in a man's own bread basket." But I never really thought that John had really eaten them.

We made a big fire under a large cedar tree that would turn the rain as well as the best thatch roof that could be made, wrapped ourselves up in our blankets and lay down and slept as sound as we had ever on the road.

We had slept together all the way across the plains. In the morning, got up and made a good pot of coffee. After breakfast, as we called it, I went out and cut what I called a safety pole about ten feet long. I said, "Now, John, if I should slip and fall I am a goner, and you tell my mother that I lost my life in trying to save hers." She was the nearest and dearest and most helpless of any of the family.

But I made no blunder. I would place the pole firmly on the bottom among the boulders, then would brace against the pole and swing out as far as the pole would let me go on the other side; again I would brace myself against the strong current, lift my pole around on the other side, and place it again in the same manner until I reached the shore. We had no big guns or even firecrackers to celebrate the event, but the big cheers that John gave me from the other side and the consolation that I felt in being victorious over the raging river was enough.

Now we had only eight miles more before we met friends and help. So I bounded away like a mountain buck, and in three hours more I was at Foster's. James and John L. Barlow (Doc) were there herding the stock. I told them to mount the best horses they could get and hie away to Oregon City, get some men and eight or ten good horses and be back here at ten o'clock tomorrow morning. All of which they did in good shape. But I had prostrated myself by over-eating, and I thought I had been very cautious. However, I climbed up on one of the horses and started on a lope, and that seemed to help me very much.

We met our hungry emigrant party that evening just at dark. They had been making short moves every day. The main thing now was to keep them from over-eating; they

had had something to eat all the time, but their rations had been short and not choice either. The next day we arrived at Philip Foster's, where we laid over one day, rested and ate cautiously but heartily. The next day, December 25th, 1845, we arrived in Oregon City. A few of the party stayed at Foster's for rest. Albert Gaines afterward took up a claim there and stayed a year or two. It was Christmas night when we landed in Oregon City, just eight months and twenty-four days from Fulton County, Illinois.

At this time, Oregon had a Provisional legislature of its own, and Governor Abernethy was governor. The old pathfinder went to the assembly and asked for a charter to build and make a wagon road over the Cascade Mountains south of Mt. Hood. The request was immediately granted. And it was not long before he accomplished what he said he could and would do.

He never was a man that hunted after notoriety. He only wanted to benefit mankind in building this road and wherever he could. All he asked in the venture was to get his money back in doing it. To show that that was all he wanted, when he got all the cost of the road, or what he thought was all the cost, he threw open the road to the public. He had five or six hundred dollars in notes that he had taken for toll in lieu of cash. But to his surprise, he never got the half of it, though the parties said the first money they could get would go to him, but when they got out of reach they forgot all that. The worst thing he did do was throwing up the charter, and it was the worst thing for the emigrants that could have been done, for there is no road that will keep up itself, and it soon became almost impassable. Poor jaded teams would mire down and emigrants lost sometimes more than three times what the toll would have been, besides the delay and time lost. Soon after Foster and Young re-chartered the road and made some money on the investment, besides making it prove a great accommodation to emigrants. This road was kept in pretty fair condition until the railroad was built down the Columbia River. Even now it seems to be the best route across the Cascade Mountains that has been found.

Samuel Kimbrough Barlow was born in Nicholas County, Kentucky, in the year 1795. He died at Canemah, Oregon, in 1867. If he were alive today (1904) he would be 105 years old, but he did live long enough to accomplish all he set out to do. Though he never got rich, he always had a competence. He was one of the most strictly conscientious honest men I ever knew and one of the most strictly temperate, though he never belonged to any temperance organization in his life. He used to say that if he found a drunken man lying on the road, he would get him up, take him home, feed him, give him a good bed to sleep on and breakfast in the morning. The next time he found him drunk he would roll him out of the road to keep the wagons from running over him. The third time, he would not move him out of danger in any way, for the quicker he got crushed to death the better.

I will now say in conclusion of this brief sketch of the old pioneer's life, that he was one of the most beneficial men to Oregon and the emigrants who came with wagon and team. He prepared the way so they could roll right in to the Willamette with all their effects of every kind. They thereby saved time and much risk of losing their lives in running the Cascade rapids, for all admit that that was a great hazard. Well-trained Hudson's Bay men did lose a great quantity of fur and quite a number of men. Old Dr. McLoughlin used to tell it in this way: "Dangerous place, dangerous place! We have lost thousands and thousands of pounds of beads and many boats in running the Cascades."

I said: "What becomes of the men, doctor?"

"Oh, well, they did not cost us any money."

But the old doctor was good to his men and very sympathetic. He was a sturdy old Scotchman and a strict disciplinarian. But as I am not writing a history of the doctor's life, I will say that this was just put in to show the hazard of going down the Columbia River at that time with women and children in rather frail boats; it also further proves the benefit to the people that the old gent's road had over all other routes, and that it was not made for selfish gain in any way,

as he proved by throwing it open to the public as soon as he got his money back. It had cost about two thousand dollars and was sixty-five miles long. This ends the old pioneer's part of this history.

Now I will go back seventy years and tell as briefly as possible what I know of my own knowledge of the changes, habits and style of that period. I was born on the 26th day of October, 1822, in Marion County, Indiana, twelve miles southwest of Indianapolis, on Little Whitelick River, right in the midst of a Quaker settlement. So my early training had to be of the strictest kind. I never saw a drunken man or heard an oath sworn or profane language of any kind until I was ten years old; never heard the words "Yes, sir," or "No, sir," but instead "Yes, man," or "No, man." If one would say "Madam" to a woman she would say, "Thou is mistaken, friend, I am neither mad nor dumb." Their ways were very peculiar ways, but I must say, they were very peculiar good ways. They had no use for lawyers, as all difficulties were settled by the Church. They had no use for drones, all had to work alike. A lazy man they disposed of. If they could not get rid of him any other way they would just hate him out of the hive. Bees kill their drones, but the Quakers were averse to taking blood under any circumstances, so they first turned their drone out of the church, and afterwards hated him out of the neighborhood. You might think strange that they let him into the church, but in that respect they are just like the Catholics, if the parents are Quakers their children are also Quakers so long as they conform to the rules of their religion. These rules were honesty, industry, strict morality and teetotal temperance. This is all the religion they had, and when summed up it is, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Any slight deviation from any of the rules would turn them out of the church, or would have done it when I was a boy.

I will now give their style of matrimony sixty years ago. No priest or preacher of any kind, judge or justice of the peace or any kind of law officer had anything to say about it. The

contracting parties simply married themselves and it took them just three months to do it. Their churches were all built with two departments, one for the women and one for the men, but arranged so they could be thrown into one room. The first month, each of the contracting parties rose in his or her own department where neither could hear what the other said. We will take the woman first. She rises and says: "My beloved sisters, John — and myself have concluded to become man and wife; if there is no objection, and we do not change our minds within the time allotted for the ceremony." John Killom gets up in his department and repeats the same thing, only calling the girl's name instead of his own. The next monthly meeting they both get up in their respective departments and state that they have had no cause or wish to change their minds and if nobody else has any objections, they will continue in the good work for the time allotted. The third month the gentleman gets up and walks into the ladies' department and takes his seat beside his affianced, but she can have a bridesmaid and he can take a groom in with him if he likes. Then, at a signal from the ladies' department, the doors are thrown wide open and the two contracting parties with the groom and maid rise in their seats and declare themselves man and wife in the presence of the whole audience.

Then congratulations and shaking of hands finish the ceremony, and it is just as good and lawful and legal a marriage as ever was performed by any priest or magistrate in the United States. I am not sure whether they keep up this ancient custom or not. I see they have discarded the old broad brim hat and shad-belly coat, and eat with their hats off. They are shrewd and witty in business as the most accomplished broker you can find in any state, the only difference in their system of doing business and ours is in the *modus operandi*. Under their system of government one Superior Court and one term a year would be all Oregon or any state would ever need. I have only written this little history of what I call a model class of people to show the changes that have taken place since I was a boy seventy years ago.

I will now take up the schools to show the difference between now and then. I am decidedly in favor of the new system, because the poorest child in the country can get a better education now than the richest man's child could then, at least in the Western states. Such a thing as a school tax was never thought of and would have been unanimously hooted down if it had been thought of. Of course, there were no very poor people in the West in those days; the poor people had to stay back East. All the men in the West owned their own farms, built their own schoolhouses, hired their own teachers and sent their children to school during the winter season. This gave them what they thought was a fair education. Reading, writing and ciphering were the main branches. Geography and a little English grammar were indulged in occasionally, providing the teacher could get that high up himself. He did not have to have a certificate, as there was no superintendent to examine him, and no school directors to hire him. If he were a new man, he would generally have a recommendation from where he taught before. The main things he had to have were nerve and muscle, as he was required to keep good order. The first thing he stocked up with was a good supply of good hickory gads. He might not have to use all of them, but he had obligated himself to keep good order, and most of the employers said, "If you spare the rod, you'll spile the child." To think about a woman teacher in those days would have been perfectly preposterous. In fact, no woman would have thought of undertaking it. But now they handle all kinds of scholars much better than men and use no corporal punishment, or next to none. The man who wanted to teach school would find by going through the county where there was a log schoolhouse because there were no other kinds to be found. I never saw a frame schoolhouse in the country until I came to Oregon. These log houses in the Middle West, however, were comfortable, large and well built—logs smoothed down and closely chinked, and all had substantial puncheon floor. There was always a huge fireplace that would take in at least a six-foot back log.

I never saw a stove in a schoolhouse in that country. In fact, there was not one farmer in ten that had even a cooking stove. My father bought a cooking stove and a Franklin heating stove when we went to Illinois, to save wood and hauling, as we had to haul our firewood about three miles. The cookstove was a three-hole concern with the bakeoven in the middle. People came from miles around to see it. It cost \$50.00. It would be worth now just nothing at all.

But I must now finish up our school teacher business. He would come around with his subscriptions to see if he could make enough money to make him \$15.00 or \$18.00 per month and his board.

He would board around with his scholars if required, but much preferred to be boarded at one place if the subscribers would agree to it. But many would not agree to that arrangement, as they said they had plenty of hog and hominy which did not cost them anything and they would just as soon board the teacher as not and save their three dollars a week, as that was the ordinary price of board then. Poultry and eggs were so low that it was considered a disgrace for a boy to be seen carrying them to market. These trifles belonged to the old ladies and the girls in the family, and they had to take something out of the store in payment for their chicken and eggs.

To show what contempt a high-minded boy had for carrying eggs to market, I will illustrate it by relating a circumstance that took place in our neighborhood. An old lady wanted a quarter's worth of tea, as she was expecting some lady company, and it was customary on such occasions to draw a good cup of Young Hyson tea. So the old lady gathered up ten dozen eggs and they were worth three cents a dozen, that would more than pay for the tea, which was worth twenty-five cents a pound. But she must take it all out in tea, and that amount would last them a whole year, as they only made tea on rare occasions. The boy protested all he could, said he would pay for the tea with his own money, but all to no use. His mother said the eggs did not cost any thing and would soon spoil and the money would keep any length of time. So

off he went, but kept out of sight of everybody he saw on the road until he got to the store. He then set his basket down on a platform outside of the store and slipped in to see if there was anybody in the store that would laugh at him. Just then a man came running in and said that there was an old sow outside with her head in someone's basket of eggs. The boy's first thought was that he would neither claim basket nor eggs. But his second thought was that he dare not go home without the basket, so he stepped to the door and saw that the eggs were all smashed to jelly. "Well," he said, "I guess that basket is mine, but the eggs seem to belong to that old sow." But he got the tea and threw a bright quarter down on the counter with pompous satisfaction and walked out. He washed the basket clean and went home joyous that he had escaped the disgrace of selling eggs. His mother praised him for a fine boy and he had saved his money besides. The boy thought that he had done well himself in satisfying his mother and himself and to get praise he did not deserve.

But now the hen and the product of the hen bring more money to the farmer than all the wheat he sells, and there is not half as much hard labor about it. Besides, this is something that can be done and is done mostly by women and children and merely amusement and recreation for them. I think this is enough to illustrate the difference between then and now.

As I have already crossed the plains or great American desert as it was called, scaled the Rocky Mountains, and helped build a road over the Cascade Mountains and landed on the Pacific Coast, I will now make one bound and light down in Oregon City again and commence to do business for myself in my own way. The first thing I did was to go back with provisions to the man I had left with the wagons and goods on or near the summit of the Cascade Mountains; this was Mr. William Berry, afterwards son-in-law of Stephen Coffin, one of the proprietors of the now great city of Portland, of which I will have a good word to say before I get through these memoirs.

I started across the Cascades with one man and three horses on January 1, 1846. They were loaded with sugar, coffee, flour and bacon enough to supply two of us until June. I had agreed to stay with Berry for company and to help guard the property cached away until the road could be made through for teams and wagons to pass through. The man who went with me was to return with the horses. It was thought by some that we could not cross the mountains with a load at that time of the year, but it was a groundhog case and had to be done. Though the snow was from three to five feet deep we could see the blazes on the trees which the old gent had marked, so there was no danger of getting lost. But our horses would occasionally break through the crust of snow that had formed about two feet below the surface by rain and then freezing. Then we would have to take our shovels and dig the horse out and get him on top again, but that only happened a few times. When night came we would tie our horses to a tree, feed them oats we had with us, make a fire and cook supper. Then we would dig a hole in the snow, wrap ourselves in our Hudson's Bay blankets and jump down in our snow houses and sleep sound and warm. We were only three days from Foster's to the Cascade cache, where we found Berry as happy as a clam at high water. The Indians had been to see him, brought him plenty of dried salmon and huckleberries. Besides, there was a man by name of Foster who had followed our trail in from the east side and wanted to winter with Berry. He had plenty of money and would pay for everything he used if we would let him stay. He did not want to go through the mountains any further, and he never did. In the spring he got up his horses that he had kept down on the creek on good grass all winter and went back to The Dalles. We accepted his proposition and sold him part of the grub that I had taken in for his winter supply. One morning Berry said, "Now, Barlow, if you want to go back to the valley I am perfectly willing to stay." I said, "All right," pretty gleefully, "and I will allow you all the income from the wagons and will keep out only the expense of this trip." To this he readily agreed. The

next morning Eaton and myself started back. Eaton was the man's name that went with me over the mountains. We had a harder trip going back than we did going over heavily loaded. There came on a blinding snowstorm and our matches got wet so we had to resort to an old flintlock gun and that flashed in the pan several times; but finally we got a fire started, set an old dead tree on fire that lit up the mountains in fine shape, so we could find our horses, as they had wandered off in the dark. We never could have found them if we had failed to get a fire, and I really believe we would have frozen to death, as we had left our best blankets back with Berry. So much for that trip.

In dead of winter we got back to Oregon City. The next thing to do was to find something to do, as I never could be idle. I bought a squatter's right to a section of land up on the Clackamas River. It cost me a young American filly valued at \$250.00. I went right on the place, hired a man, and went to work, preparing a place to plant out a peck of apple seeds that I had brought over the plains and packed out on horseback from our mountain cache whence I had just returned. And right here I will state that I let an independent fortune slip through my hands.

I had started from Illinois with a complete assortment of the best grafted fruit trees that Illinois could produce, and they were all growing and doing well. I could have got them through in good shape, but I met a lot of men from Oregon who were good intelligent men. I think Jason Lee was one of them. I showed him my young trees that were in a box that weighed about 300 pounds, dirt and all.

"What are you going to do with them when you get them there?" one said.

"I am going into the nursery business," I replied.

"My dear sir," they said, "there is as good fruit in Oregon as anywhere in the world. There are old bearing orchards at Vancouver and in the French prairie, and you have the hardest part of the road ahead of you, besides you cannot get your

wagons to the Willamette Valley without taking them to pieces in order to load them on the bateaus going down the Columbia River."

"Well, if that is the case, I might as well lighten up my load right here." So I dumped on the ground close up to Independence Rock, at least \$50,000.00. For, as it turned out, the box with all its contents could have set right in the wagon until it reached Oregon City. Of course we never dreamed of crossing the Cascade Mountains then. As it was, the watchman left with the wagons could and would have attended to them with perfect safety. But this opportunity was all gone now, so I turned my attention to preparing my apple seed for planting out in the spring. Good luck attended me, as almost every seed came up, and I had at least 15,000 young seedling apple trees that sold readily in the fall at fifteen cents apiece.

When I say I lost \$50,000.00, I mean just what I say. There were no grafted apple trees in the territory and I could have made a full monopoly of all the grafted apples and pears on the coast, as California had nothing but seedlings. Of course, you will once in a thousand times get a fine apple from the seed. In fact, that is the way all our fine apples and pears originate. But you might plant a bushel of seed all from the same tree and you would not get one apple of the same kind. But you can graft all the fine fruit into the seedling root and you will get just the kind of fruit that the graft is. Or even a bud put into seedling stock will have the same effect, but you must cut off the seedling stalk above the bud. To substantiate what I have said about the value of the fruit scions or grafts that I dumped on the ground at Sweetwater close to the summit of the Rocky Mountains in 1845, I will just refer to Mr. Henderson Luelling, who crossed the plains in 1847, two years later than I did, with substantially the same kind of fruit trees that I had, and he supplied the country as fast as he could grow the trees at one dollar apiece for one-year-old trees. I paid him in 1853 \$100.00 for one hundred grafted trees. I was talking with his son a few days ago about the profits to themselves and the benefits of their importation to the country,

NOTE.—On the above page, 7th line from the bottom, Mr. Barlow alludes to Henderson Luelling, and in the second line from the foot of the page speaks of "talking with his son." On the next page, second line from the top, Mr. Barlow refers to "Seth," in a way that indicates to the general reader that "Seth" was a son of Henderson Luelling. This is wrong. Seth Luelling, or "Lewelling," as he spelled his name late in life, was a brother of Henderson, and an uncle by marriage of William Meek and Henry W. Eddy, who were sons-in-law of Henderson Luelling.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary, Oregon Historical Society.

estimating it at a million dollars. I think their own profits ran up to hundreds of thousands, though Seth could not say how much money was made, as he was not in partnership with the old gentleman at that time. But Meek, his brother-in-law, was in with his father and built the Standard flour mill at Milwaukee out of his profits of the nursery. I think the nursery was the foundation for Meek's and Eddy's large fortunes. I would have been two years in advance of them, and I knew all about the nursery business back in Illinois. Eddy and Meek, I think, were both sons-in-law of Mr. Luelling and were interested with him in all his successful business ventures. I only write this to substantiate what I lost by listening to men that I thought knew what they were talking about.

But I thought then and believe now that they thought they were telling me the truth.

Well, it is now the winter of '46, and it was as fine a winter as I have ever seen in Oregon. I hired a man and went on the place that I had traded for. We could work every day in our shirt-sleeves. If it rained at all it rained at night. Wages were very low. Could get a man for little more than his board. No money in the country, so had to take his pay in truck and "turnover," as we called it. Most of the business was done by and through merchants of whom there were four in Oregon City, and they were rated about like the Irishman's whiskey. He said he had never seen any poor whiskey in his life, but he had seen some a great deal better than others and all would make drunk come. All the merchants floated more or less paper money, which was only redeemable at their own store, and you had to take just what they had to sell or take nothing. That was what made some a great deal better than others. Abernethy's was considered the poorest paper, though you could get flour and lumber at his mills, gunflints and remnants at his store. Ermatinger, or the Hudson's Bay store, was gilt-edged. You could get all kinds of substantial goods at that store if you had their paper. The way this paper was floated was through the agency of Dr. McLoughlin. He had a large flour mill, three run of fine French burrs and they

made as good flour there then as any mill does in Oregon today. He bought the bulk of all the wheat that was raised in Oregon at that time, paid the farmer or whoever had the wheat with paper on Ermatinger or the Hudson's Bay store. They in turn would pass it to the credit of the wheat man, then he would draw orders in favor of any person or persons to the full amount due him and those orders were good until they were taken in. It made no difference how many hands they had passed through or when it was presented, it would be put to your credit; and you could draw on it a dollar at a time or take it all up then if you wished which they would really prefer. I just state this to show how business was done before there was any money in the country and the people got along just as well as they do now and in some respects better. For they could not run their hands into their pockets then and call up all hands to take a drink. They could get a bottle of good Hudson's Bay brandy and then call up all hands to drink it, but there was virtually no drinking done in Oregon. There is more whiskey and beer drunk now in Portland in ten minutes than was consumed in Oregon from 1845 to 1848.

There was a man by the name of Dick McCary who started a large distillery in the woods down the river between Portland and Oregon City. It consisted of one big kettle and a few coils of some kind of piping. He made what was called Dick McCary's Best. It was made out of Sandwich Island black strap molasses and it "would make drunk come mighty quick," as the Irishman said. But it was soon found out by the Indians. So a posse of law-and-order men went down from Oregon City and pitched the whole thing into the river and would have pitched Dick in, too, but he was not to be found. There were rigid Oregon laws against selling any kind of intoxicating drinks to Indians, which of course was right, for at times they owned the country and outnumbered the whites two to one, and a drunken heathen is the worst heathen in the world.

But after the government had organized a territorial government in Oregon, appointed a governor and supreme judge, plenty of whiskey soon followed the flag. But the Oregon law

was very severe on persons selling whiskey to Indians and O. C. Pratt, first U. S Judge, was very strict in enforcing the law but lenient (?) in fines and punishments. The least fine was a thousand dollars for each offense or imprisonment for one year or both at the discretion of the court.

Sidney W. Moss was keeping a hotel in Oregon City and of course kept all kinds of liquors to sell to white customers, but whether he ever sold any whiskey direct to Indians was always a question in my mind. But he was indicted and convicted under two indictments. The judge ousted one indictment as it was the first offense and just fined him \$1,000.00 on the second indictment. He thought that would be a lesson for him and others and it was, too, for there were no more indictments.

Moss promptly walked up to the clerk and paid the thousand dollars, demanded a receipt and started to walk out. The judge said, "Mr. Moss, I hope this will be a lesson not only to you but others," and was going on to make a long talk but Moss had his ire up and said, "Never mind, your honor, that is not interest on the Willamette water I have sold," and walked out.

Now I will go back to the place that I bought on the Clackamas. I stayed there until May, '46, making rails and improving the place. The winter was the finest I have ever seen in Oregon, stock got rolling fat on range by the first of May. Old Uncle Arthur, who lived on the same prairie about one mile away, had new peas for Christmas dinner. I was invited to dine with his family, but did not go as I wished to take dinner with my mother that day in Oregon City. Uncle Arthur had come out in '44. Those peas were volunteer that had come up from the spring planting of '45. I have seen that several times since in Oregon and I think we could have had them last Christmas (1903) if they had been planted at the right time.

In the summer of 1846 I went with my father to make the road back to the wagons. Everything was safe and in good order, household goods and all. Our teams soon arrived and we started with the first wagon over the mountain. I wanted to drive the lead team so I could say I had driven the team that

drew the first wagon over the Cascade Mountains. But I am not sure whether I did it or not. There was a rush and as Gaines, my brother-in-law, and we had six wagons in our family we all wanted to stay together and there might have been one wagon got over the summit first. Mr. Savage of Yamhill told me a few years ago that there was one wagon got ahead of me and he was with us all the time. That wagon was driven by Reuben Gant, now a resident of Philomath, Oregon.

At any rate, we made the road and got all our wagons and household goods out in perfect order and then went back and helped finish the road clear across the mountains. We established a toll-gate about ten miles this side of Tygh Valley where there was fine bunch grass, wood, and water. Here all the emigrants laid over one or two days for recruit before starting through the mountains. I staid with my father until all emigrants got through in the winter of '46. We then started out and made the trip clear through to Oregon City in two days.

The old gent gave me \$400.00 for my summer's work. I laid that out for a house and lot on Main street in Oregon City, the first real estate I had owned. The claim I had bought was only a squatter's right held by a record.

By this time, emigrants were getting pretty thick around Oregon City. I soon had an offer of \$600.00 for my right to the Clackamas place. I reserved all my young seedling apple trees, about 10,000 from one to two feet high, worth ten to fifteen cents apiece in anything you could get. I then went out to the big Molalla prairie and bought a section of land with no timber on it for \$400.00. Now this was in the spring of '47. I hired rails made to fence in 100 acres and broke up fifty acres for wheat in the Fall. Of course, I did not do all the work myself. In fact, I did not do any of it. I had all I could do to cook and look after my stock. Hands were cheap and would work for little more than their board. Many were trying to get enough to get back "to the States" as we said then.

But when gold was discovered in California, they changed their outfits and went in that direction. Three or four very

fine young carpenters heard that I wanted a fine barn built and would trade horses for work. They came out to see me and I told them just what kind of a barn I wanted built. It was to be 74x40 feet 18 feet high, but they must take it from the stump. I would deliver everything on the ground, lumber and all, but they must make the shingles. The lumber I would get sawed, as there was a sawmill started about a mile off. That suited them exactly.

"Well how much wages are you going to want," I asked. They thought they ought to have one dollar a day and board.

"Well, if you can put up with bachelor cooking you can take the job," I said. They had some tools and I bought some more. I had to get a broadax and a chopping ax or two. They went right to work with a will. I saw they meant business right from the start. They drew a draft of the barn so they would know just how to get out the timber, to which they had to walk about a mile. It was Uncle Sam's timber and free for all. They thought they would better take their dinner with them. I had several fine cows and we made up all our bread with pure cream. So every morning they would start with a big pone of cream bread, a jug of milk, a pot of coffee and often Chinook salmon that needed no lard to cook it in. In those days, could get a salmon that weighed twenty or thirty pounds for ten or fifteen cents. I had also plenty of salt beef and pork. The men said they never lived better in their lives and that it beat city grub out of sight. So they finished the barn in time for me to store my crop of wheat in August. I fitted them out for the mines and they went off the best pleased set of fellows I ever saw. But I never heard of them afterwards.

Pretty soon the emigrants began to pour in. This was now 1848. One evening, about the middle of September, I saw three or four emigrant wagons steering for the house. I went out to meet them. When lo! and behold, up drove old Mathias Swiggle and all his family. He was our old neighbor right from Illinois. He hallooed so loudly you could hear him a half a mile away. He wanted to know if here was where old Samuel K. Barlow's son William lived. I told him it was. He said,

"Your father told me to come right here and stay all winter. Will has plenty of everything and I see for myself that you have got the best place in the county, for you came here three years ago when you could get pick and choice." "But, Mr. Swiggle, I did not take up this place myself. I had to buy it to get it, and all it cost the man I bought it of was a dollar to get it recorded and a little expense in building that log cabin. I paid him \$400.00 just to get off and I had it recorded just as he had it staked out.

"Well, I knew you would have the best place if you did have to buy it," he said, after looking over the level prairie and my improvements. That was just what I wanted to hear him say, for I wanted to sell the place, and I knew he had the gold and plenty of it. As yet there was little gold coming from California. So I told him to unload everything in the big new barn and rest a while and I would show him plenty of land to take up for nothing. In a few days, we took a ride all round that part of the country. There was plenty of land but no clean, smooth prairie like mine. He said he was too old to grub out a farm but wanted a farm already made. One day he said, "Will, I don't suppose you would sell your squatter's right to this place at all?"

"Never had anything in my life but what I would sell except my wife, and I have only had her for a few weeks and don't want to dispose of her for a while, at any rate."

"Well, what will you take for the place all gold right down in your fist?"

"Well, for all gold right down, I will take two thousand dollars."

"I won't give it, I won't give it."

"Well, there is no harm done, Mr. Swiggle."

"But," he added, "I will tell you just what I will give you. I have been talking with my old shell (he always called his wife and old shell), I will just give you \$1600.00 in gold and pay you 50 cents per bushel for all the wheat in the barn and thrash it out myself. That will make you \$2000.00."

"Well, I will talk with my young 'shell'," I replied, "and let you know in the morning."

I intended to take it, as I knew ready cash was the stuff for the times. Everybody was fixing for the mines next spring and they would pay anything to get money to pay their passage on the old brig Henry.

So I sold and went right down to Oregon City and went into anything and everything. Double invested sometimes in one day.

Among other things, I bought 7000 bushels of wheat at 50 cents a bushel delivered in Abernethy's mill on the island. I had it ground at the Island mill, put it in wooden barrels, stored it away and let it wait for development. I was satisfied that flour was bound to have a boom sooner or later. Oregonians were running off and leaving their families and people were pouring into California from all parts of the world. Flour had to come around the Horn to supply the demand in California. I had 600 barrels and Uncle Walter Pomeroy had about the same amount. We had it stored together in one of his buildings. I said to the old gent one day, "We would better look after our flour as wooden barrels need re-coopering occasionally."

"Well, Billy, I will tell you what I have been thinking about. One of us had better own all that flour."

I replied, "I have no money to buy your flour and I don't wish to sell at the price it is going at now."

"We need no money in this deal, as I will take your note without interest for six months or I will give you mine on the same terms. Say what you will give or take, and I will take you up one way or the other."

"Well," he said, "Put it at \$7.00."

"Draw up the note," I said, "And I will sign it as soon as we find out how many barrels there are of it."

The next day we got a cooper and a man to help him overhaul it all; my own and what I had bought of him. It all came out right. Besides he had about 50 barrels of middlings, that I gave him \$4.00 a barrel for, making in all \$4,400.00. In less

than thirty days, it went up to \$9.00 a barrel in jobbing lots. So I sold off about 300 barrels and stopped jobbing it. Pretty soon it went up to \$12.00 and I sold enough at that price to take up my note and had 800 barrels left. In thirty days there was no mail from California except when the old brig Henry would get back. So along in the fall, she came up to Astoria and it might take her a month to reach Portland.

At this point the manuscript of William Barlow ended. Heard my father say, "Some one of the younger generation can now take up the history of the Barlow family, as it is known either by actual observation or by hearsay to many who can tell it better than I can." In regard to the above flour transaction, I have heard my father say that he took the remaining number of barrels to San Francisco on the brig Henry and cleared on the flour transaction \$6,000.00.

HISTORY OF THE FIRST BUSHEL OF AMERICAN BLACK WALNUTS EVER BROUGHT TO OREGON.

I came to Oregon in 1845 and supposed we would find similar nut-bearing trees to those found all over the Atlantic and Middle West States.

But when I arrived here, I found there were no nut-bearing trees of any kind, except some small hazel nuts, which were of a very different kind from those which grew wild in Indiana.

So I made up my mind that I would send back, the first good opportunity, and have a bushel of black and white walnuts sent out.

In 1858, Mr. John Dement, a good friend of mine, was going back by way of the Isthmus and he said he would send me a bushel by Adams Express. But remarked that it would cost considerable.

I said, "Never mind the cost. I want to get them here by Winter, so I can prepare them for planting the next Spring."

He did just as I told him, but had to pay in advance to San Francisco for expressage. But he had plenty of money of his own, besides he had some Indian war claims to collect for me.

These he did not collect till later on. However, he hurried

the walnuts on, so I would get them in time for Fall planting. They were forwarded to me at Oregon City and when all the charges came in, I was out just sixty-five dollars. I went down to town, brought the sack up and told my wife what they cost.

She said, "Well, I declare, I could have got that many walnuts in Missouri for fifty cents."

I said, "Well, we will crack a few of them anyway to see if they are good. If they grow, I will get my money back and several hundred per cent."

She said, "One is enough to tell that and one is enough to lose."

"No," I said, "We will have one apiece."

They were both good and brought old Missouri and Illinois and Indiana right home to us.

So I made a box, put sand and dirt in it, planted the nuts in the box and buried them all in the ground. I kept them moist all Winter and by Spring, they were all beginning to open. I then prepared the ground in fine shape and planted the nuts in rows.

There were just 765 nuts of both kinds, but there were not over 100 butternuts out of that number. About 760 came up and such a growth I never saw before. I kept the ground well watered and well worked and the roots were larger and longer than the tops. A large portion of the roots went down three feet deep. Later in the Fall, I took them all up, set out about 100, gave away a great many to my particular friends and put the balance on the market at \$1.50 each. I allowed a big commission to the nursery man who handled them, and the whole venture left me a net profit of \$500.00. Besides I had my walnut avenue, 400 feet long, with a row of walnuts on each side. There is one tree that is over three and one-half feet in diameter six feet from the ground, and its branches spread out 80 feet in diameter or 240 feet in circumference.

THE BARLOW ROAD

By Walter Bailey

Among the numerous obstacles overcome by the American frontiersmen in the monumental task of building a wagon road across the continent, the last and one of the greatest was the Cascade Mountains. Unlike the Appalachian and Rocky Mountain ranges, the Cascades presented, to the eager eyes of the road hunter, no natural pass. To those who would cross with wagons, two alternatives were presented; first, the narrow gorge through which the swift turbulent Columbia sweeps and second, the range of steep rocky mountain tops which join the white hooded peaks of the Cascades.

The stalwart pioneers who led the first wagon train of American home makers, from the valley of the Mississippi to the falls of the Willamette did not dare, because the season was late and their stock fagged, to try the mountain heights. With rafts and the few available boats, they descended the troubled stream, suffering severely en route from rapids and storms.¹

The immigration of the next year followed the same route. The stock of both trains were driven over the rough mountain trails into the Willamette Valley.²

During the latter days of September, 1845, the third great company of Western immigrants arrived at The Dalles, then the terminus of the wagon road. The old mission station became a great frontier camp. Hundreds of prairie wagons, large droves of stock and crowds of way-worn people lined the bleak shore of the Columbia.³

Their appearance showed the effects of their long overland journey. Part of their number had suffered severe hardship and nearly lost their lives in following an unreliable guide over a supposed "cut-off" through the dry wastes of Eastern Oregon.⁴ Some of the travellers were becoming destitute of pro-

¹ Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 410.

² Ibid., pp. 412, 453.

³ Palmer's Journal, p. 120.

⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

visions, and many had little or no money. Disease added its terrors to those of impending starvation.⁵ Only two boats were running down to the Cascade rapids and transportation prices were high. But for the sending of relief parties from Oregon City and the kindly aid of the Hudson's Bay men, the immigrant camps at the old mission post must have become a scene of awful suffering.

Among the last to arrive in this camp was the company commanded by Samuel K. Barlow. Captain Barlow did not like the situation at The Dalles and the prospect of exhausting his provisions by a long delay and his money for a dangerous passage down the river.⁶ And Barlow, a true pioneer, possessed that stern self reliance and restless ardor which causes a man, when he disapproves of the route of his fellows, to break a path of his own. At the early age of twenty he had left the home of his parents in Kentucky because his father was a slave holder and Samuel was bitterly opposed to human slavery. He had started west with the emigrants because his admired friend, Henry Clay, had been defeated for president and Barlow could not stay where he had fought a losing fight.

True to his principles, Captain Barlow began looking for a new route into the Willamette valley. Two trails, he was told, had been opened across the mountains by stock drovers and horsemen.⁷ One way was to swim the stock across the Columbia, skirt the mountains along the north bank and ferry back at Fort Vancouver. A second route was the old Indian trail south of Mount Hood, a path said to be steep and difficult.

Captain Barlow determined to attempt the southern route with wagons. If there was already a trail it would probably be possible, he reasoned, to widen it into a wagon track. Says his son, William Barlow:⁸ "After resting a few days and recruit-

⁵ Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 516.

⁶ Evans' History of the Northwest—Biography of S. K. Barlow.

⁷ Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 72.

⁸ Evans' History of the Northwest—Biography of S. K. Barlow.

ing his followers, teams and cattle, like a general refreshing his troops for a new fight, notice was given that the company's captain, S. K. Barlow, was going to cross the Cascade mountains with his family, wagons and plunder. An invitation was extended to any and all who felt disposed to join his expedition; but he wished none to follow him who had ever learned the adaptability of the word 'can't.'"⁹

Old mountain men who had trapped through every valley in the mountains, the missionaries who had lived for years in their shadows, and Hudson's Bay men, trained trailers of the wilderness, all declared the attempt to be folly—especially so as it was late in the season and the cattle were somewhat jaded by two thousand miles of prairie and mountain.

Captain Barlow, however, "declared his belief in the goodness and wisdom of an allwise Being and said 'He never made a mountain without making a way for man to go over it, if the latter exercised a proper amount of energy and perseverance.'"

When the start was made, on or about September 24th,¹⁰ the party consisted of seven wagons and about nineteen persons including besides the family of Mr. Barlow, Messrs. Gaines, Rector, Gessner, Caplinger, William G. Buffum¹¹ and families, together with John Bown, Reuben Gant and William Berry.

For forty miles the way led over rolling mountain land, crossing a branch of the Des Chutes.¹² At the end of this distance a halt was called for rest and repairs. Camp was pitched on Five-Mile Creek, where water and grass were plentiful. During the delay in the march Captain Barlow left for a reconnoitering trip.¹³ From the Blue Mountains a small gap had been observed south of Mt. Hood. Through this opening the leader hoped to build the future roadway.

⁹ Evans' History of the Northwest—Biography of S. K. Barlow.

¹⁰ Palmer's Journal, p. 120.

¹¹ Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 72, supplemented by information furnished by Geo. H. Himes.

¹² Palmer's Journal, pp. 125-6.

¹³ Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 73.

While Barlow was absent some horsemen arrived from The Dalles.¹⁴ Their leader was Joel Palmer, who with Barlow had been aid in the company of Presley Welch, and who was afterwards the government Indian agent for Oregon. Having arrived at The Dalles after Barlow's departure, Palmer had determined to follow and had induced about twenty-three wagons and nearly as many families to accompany him. After getting started he had gone ahead of the wagons to explore. He followed Barlow into the mountains but returned after several days reconnoitering without meeting him. After Barlow returned to camp, it was mutually agreed to join forces and push on with the road building.

At this point it was decided to send a party with the loose cattle onto the settlements.¹⁵ Two families determined to go on with the drovers. This party was instructed to procure provisions and assistance and meet the roadbuilders.

After dispatching a small party back to the Dalles for beef and wheat the main party now began the arduous task of cutting a road through the timber. The eastern side of the Cascades was not heavily timbered, however, and progress was rapid, though there is recorded some complaint about the incompatibility of big trees, rusty tools and tender muscles. It being the dry season, fire was used effectively in clearing the mountain sides.

When they came face to face with the steep mountain sides several families gave up the enterprise and returned to The Dalles.¹⁶ Palmer and Barlow were still determined to push on. On the morning of October 11th¹⁷ they set out ahead to find a way over the main dividing ridge. This lay further to the west than they had expected and their previous exploration had showed no sign of a western descent. In their absence the company continued the road building.

¹⁴ Palmer's Journal, p. 126.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 128.

¹⁶ Evans.

¹⁷ Palmer's Journal, p. 131.

After several days travel on foot in the heart of the range Barlow and Palmer found a passable route for wagons to the western descent. But their own journey was fraught with so much hardship and suffering on account of the snow that they were forced to conclude that the season was too late and the journey too long to risk being snowed in among the mountains.¹⁸ It had previously been determined that, should the passage prove impossible, the wagons and impedimenta should be cached and the company should proceed with the stock over the mountains. Therefore, on the return of the leaders a rude house was construed about five miles east of the summit. In this were placed the perishables of the company.

Three young men, William Barlow, John Bown, and William Berry volunteered to remain and guard the deposit, but it was found that scarcely any provisions could be left and Berry was left in solitude to keep a long winter's vigil amid the mountain storms.¹⁹

Packing a few necessary articles upon the horses and oxen, only the weakest having saddle horses, the remainder of the company pushed on toward the outpost of the scattered Oregon settlements.²⁰

Even greater hardships were experienced on the western slope of the Cascades. On the very summit they encountered treacherous swamps; there was no grass for the stock and they browsed the poison laurel bushes; provisions gave out entirely and the woods became so dense and the canyons so deep and precipitous that some despaired of ever reaching civilization. William Barlow relates how his sister, Mrs. Gaines tried to cheer her disheartened companions, saying, "Why we are in the midst of plenty—plenty of snow, plenty of wood to melt it, plenty of horse meat, plenty of dog meat if the worst comes."²¹

A packtrain with flour and other provisions from Oregon City came to their relief and all passed safely through to the Willamette.

¹⁸ Palmer's Journal, p. 140; Evans.

¹⁹ Evans.

²⁰ Palmer's Journal, p. 141.

²¹ Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, 76.

Captain Barlow, early in December, applied to the territorial legislature, then in session in Oregon City, for a charter to open a road across the Cascade mountains.²² He was allowed to address the House on the subject and on December 16th, a charter was granted. As soon as the snow left the mountains in the spring, Barlow engaged a force of about forty men and opened the road from Foster's farm in the Clackamas valley to the camp where the wagons were left.²³

A subscription list was circulated among the Oregon settlers to help defray the expenses of this construction, but a writer in the *Oregon Spectator* of February 18, 1847, declares that he "has it from an authentic source that only thirty dollars was ever received."

For two years following the construction, Captain Barlow personally collected the toll. In 1846 according to his report "one hundred and forty-five wagons, fifteen hundred and fifty-nine head of horses, mules and horned cattle, and one drove of sheep" passed through the toll gates.²⁴

The Barlow road continued to be extensively used by immigrants until the building of the railroad along the Columbia, and it is still in use.

From 1848 to 1862 the road was leased by Barlow to various operators, among whom were Philip Foster and Joseph Young.²⁵ These men did little except collect the tolls and the highway lapsed into an almost impassable condition.

In October, 1862,²⁶ the Mount Hood Wagon Road Company, capitalized at twenty-five thousand dollars, was organized to take over and reconstruct the old road. This enterprise appears to have been a failure but in May, 1864, a new company called the Cascade Road and Bridge Company was incorporated.

²² Oregon Archives, 1853, p. 126.

²³ Evans; *Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 79.

²⁴ Evans; *Oregon Spectator*, Oct. 29, 1846.

²⁵ Evans; *Quarterly Oreg. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 79. There is scanty material concerning the operation of the road during these years. It is probable that the California gold rush and the Indian troubles diverted men's attention from internal improvements. During one year at least the toll gates were unguarded.

²⁶ Art. of Incorp. of the Mt. Hood Wagon Road Co., Clerk's office, Oregon City.

²⁷ Art. of Incorp. of Cascade Road and Bridge Co., Clerk's office, Oregon City.

This organization²⁷ incorporated by Joseph Young, Egbert Alcott, Stephen Coleman, Frederick Sievers and Francis Revenue, made extensive improvements in the route, building bridges and making corduroy roads across the swamps.

In 1882²⁸ the road was deeded to the Mount Hood and Barlow Road Company, organized by Richard Gerder, S. D. Coleman, H. E. Cross, F. O. McCown, and J. T. Apperson. These men shortened and improved the route and constructed an important branch road. The Mount Hood and Barlow Road Company, now under different management, still operates the road. One of the first measures to come before the people of Oregon under the Initiative law was a proposal that the state purchase the Barlow road and abolish tolls. The measure was defeated by a small majority.

Among the memorable occurrences in "crossing the plains" the passage over the Cascade mountains by the Mt. Hood route stands out most vividly in the memory of a large number of Oregon pioneers. The dangers, toil and hardship; the beauties of the mountains and the pleasant surprises of the great dense forests; the laborious climb on the eastern slope and the steep descent of "Laurel Hill" on the west; all combined to make an impression on the minds of the pioneers which later, served for many a fireside reminiscence. Autumn after autumn, from "forty-six" to "sixty-four" witnessed long lines of expectant homeseekers toiling through the rocky defiles and over the steep ridges.

The diaries and letters written by the travellers express a strange mixture of happiness and sorrow, contentment and dejection, hope and despair, ecstasy and misery.²⁹ Says one, "Some men's hearts died within them and some of our women sat down by the roadside—and cried, saying they had abandoned all hope of ever reaching the promised land. I saw women with babies but a week old, toiling up the mountains in the burning sun, on foot, because our jaded teams were not able to haul them. We went down mountains so steep that we

²⁸ Corporation deed on file in the Clerk's office, Oregon City.

²⁹ Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 561, note.

had to let our wagons down with ropes. My wife and I carried our children up muddy mountains in the Cascades, half a mile high and then carried the loading of our wagons up on our backs by piecemeal, as our cattle were so reduced that they were hardly able to haul up our empty wagon."

Of Laurel Hill an emigrant of 1853³⁰ complains: "The road on this hill is something terrible. It is worn down into the soil from five to seven feet, leaving steep banks on both sides, and so narrow that it is almost impossible to walk alongside of the cattle for any distance without leaning against the oxen. The emigrants cut down a small tree about ten inches in diameter and about forty feet long, and the more limbs it has on it the better. This tree they fasten to the rear axle with chains or ropes, top end foremost, making an excellent brake."

On the other hand many make no mention of hardship but are enraptured and captivated by the charming blushes of the snowy peaks. From The Dalles at five in the morning one is³¹ "thrilled by the spectacle of Mount Hood's snowy pyramid standing out, clearly defined against the pale grey of dawn; not white as at noonday, but pink, as the heart of a Sharon rose, from base to summit. A little later it has faded, and by the most lovely transitions of color and light, now looks golden, now pearly, and finally glistens whitely in the full glare of the risen sun."

Even the prosaic Palmer finds room to exclaim among his practical observations: "I had never before beheld a sight so nobly grand."³²

Curry, a newspaper editor,³³ in his new charge the Oregon Spectator, records at some length his impressions of the mountain road, "———The breath of the forest was laden with the scent of agreeable odors. What a feeling of freshness was diffused into our whole being as we enjoyed the pleasure of the pathless woods. In every glimpse we could catch of the open

³⁰ Diary of E. W. Conyers, Transactions Oregon Pioneer Assn., 1905.

³¹ Overland Monthly, Vol. III, p. 204.

³² Palmer's Journal, p. 130.

³³ Spectator, Oct. 29, 1846. The article is unsigned. It was written, however, by George L. Curry, the editor.

day, there, above and beyond us were the towering heights, with their immense array of sky-piercing shafts.

"Up, up to an altitude fearfully astounding—the ascent is steep and difficult, but there are many such ridges of the mountains to be crossed before you can descend into the flourishing valley of the Willamette. Down, down into the deep, dark and silent ravines, and when you have reached the bottom of it, by precipitous descent, you may be able to form an idea of the great elevation which you had previously attained. The crossing of the Rocky mountains, the Bear River range and the "big hill" of the Brules, with the Blue Mountains, was insignificant in comparison to the Cascades. Here is no natural pass—you breast the lofty hills and climb them—there is no way around them, no avoiding them, and each succeeding one, you fancy is the dividing ridge of the range."

The Barlow road was an important asset to both immigrants and settlers. It enabled the former to divide their trains and avoid the overcrowded condition on the Columbia; it furnished the latter a means of communication and trade with the settlers east of the mountains. Large numbers of Willamette valley cattle were driven over it to be slaughtered in the mines and many a packer has paid toll at its gates.

Judge Matthew P. Deady,³⁴ an esteemed citizen and noted jurist of Oregon, is reported to have said of this road: "The construction of the Barlow road contributed more towards the prosperity of the Willamette Valley and the future State of Oregon than any other achievement prior to the building of the railways in 1870."

The general references consulted in the preparation of this paper are as follows:

Palmer's Journal, published in Thwaites' Early Western Travels.

Elwood Evans' History of the Northwest.

Bancroft's History of Oregon.

The Oregon Spectator, Vols. I and II.

³⁴ Quoted in Quarterly of the Oreg. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 79.

The Oregon Archives, published in 1853.

Oregon Pioneer Transactions for 1889 and 1905.

Records in the office of the County Clerk of Clackamas County.

"The Story of the Barlow Road" in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 3.

John C. Calhoun

as

Secretary of War

1817-1825

By Frances Packard Young

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts

A Thesis presented to the Department of History

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INTRODUCTION

It is generally agreed that the United States engaged in a struggle for economic independence in its second war with England, and proved to the world that it wished to protect its own citizens. From that time on, the nation slowly grew in power until in 1817 when James Monroe became President, the treasury was well filled and the people had a feeling of prosperity.¹

Monroe offered the position of Secretary of War to four different men, before he appointed John C. Calhoun to fill that place in the cabinet. The President invited Henry Clay to take the post, but Clay declined, rather offended because he was not made Secretary of State. He next thought of Andrew Jackson, Governor Shelby of Tennessee and William Lowndes of South Carolina, but they all refused. Finally he selected Calhoun, who had justified his appointment by his efforts in Congress to further the material advancement of the United States.²

A brief sketch of Calhoun's congressional career from 1811 to 1817 is necessary before considering his Secretaryship. Coming into Congress as a young man, when the United States was on the verge of a war, Calhoun's patriotic enthusiasm led him to support defensive measures. On December 12, 1811, he gave his reasons for favoring a war.

¹ Schouler, *History of the United States*. II, 499. "Partly by internal taxes, but chiefly by those upon imports, Congress and this administration planned a permanent revenue, sufficient for meeting all current expenses and interest, and so to apply an annual surplus besides of \$10,000,000 towards discharging the principal. When the year 1817 opened all was auspicious for instituting such a policy; most of the treasury notes had been cancelled; nearly the whole national debt was refunded; cash to the amount of \$10,000,000 lay in the treasury; direct taxation could at once be dispensed with and various obnoxious items of internal revenue besides."

² Hunt, *G. John C. Calhoun*, 43.

"One principle necessary to make us a great people is to protect every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business."³

In a speech a year later, on December 4, 1812, he asserted that—

"It is the duty of every citizen to bear whatever the general interest may demand, and I, Sir, am proud in representing a people pre-eminent in the exercise of this virtue. Carolina makes no complaint against the difficulties of the times. If she feels embarrassments, she turns her indignation not against her own Government, but again the common enemy. She makes no comparative estimate of her sufferings with other states. . . . High tariffs have no pernicious effects and are consistent with the genius of the people and the institutions of the country."⁴

Calhoun made this last statement to answer an argument put forth by Mr. Widgery from Massachusetts, a few days before, which he considered to be an expression of New England sectionalism.⁵

The Committee of Commerce and Manufactures presented a tariff bill to the House in February, 1816. Two months later

ARGUMENT IN
FAVOR OF
NATIONAL
TARIFF

Calhoun declared in support of the measure that it required commerce, agriculture and manufactures to produce wealth for a nation. The United States States possessed agriculture and commerce, what she needed was manufactures, and these could not exist without protection from European competition. His argument in detail was that,

"Neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, taken separately, is the cause of wealth; it flows from the three combined, and cannot exist without each. . . . Without commerce, industry would have no stimulus; without manufactures it (U. S.) would be without the means of production;

³ Calhoun, J. C. *Works*, II, 1.

⁴ Calhoun, J. C. *Works*, II, 31.

Annals of Congress, 12th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 3, page 315.

⁵ Just before Calhoun's speech this representative spoke against the "Merchant's Bonds" Measure. 310.

and without agriculture neither of the others can subsist. When taken separately, entirely and permanently, they perish."⁶

As opposed to the sectional reasons for tariff, this argument might be called tariff nationalism.

Calhoun spoke in favor of national aid for internal improvements, as earnestly as he did for tariff. Without adequate means of communication, no country could advance in national prosperity. The extent of territory which the United States occupied

exposed them "to the greatest of all calamities—next to the loss of liberty—and to that in its consequences—disunion. We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing. This is our pride and our danger; our weakness and our strength. Little does he deserve to be entrusted with the liberties of the people, who does not raise his mind to these truths."⁷

In 1812 the nation had been hindered by not being able to move troops quickly from place to place. Was she to be caught like that again?

During his term in Congress, Calhoun served as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations.⁸

CHARACTERIZATIONS OF Elijah H. Mills, a Federalist, wrote of Calhoun in 1823:

CALHOUN AS A "He came into Congress very young and took a decided part in favor of the late war, and of all the measures connected with it. He is ardent, persevering, industrious and

temperate, of great activity and quickness of perception, and rapidity of utterance. . . . His private character is estimable and exemplary, and his devotion to his official duties is regular and severe."⁹

⁶ Calhoun, J. C. *Works*, II, 163-6.

⁷ Calhoun, J. C. *Works*, II, 186.

⁸ Speech on Bill to set aside bank dividends and bonus for internal improvements.

⁹ Hunt, G. *John C. Calhoun*, 22.

Calhoun at first occupied second place on the committee, but when the chairman, Gen. P. B. Porter, retired from Congress, Calhoun was made chairman.

⁹ Mass. Hist. Society Proceed. XIX, 37, 1881-2.

Letters of Elijah H. Mills. After the first sentence the characterization belongs to the time when Calhoun was Secretary, but might well be applied to his Congressional career also. (Representative from Massachusetts in 1816.)

Another man described Calhoun's legislative career as, "Short, but uncommonly luminous; his love of novelty and his apparent solicitude to astonish were so great, that he has occasionally been known to go beyond even the dreams of political visionaries and to propose schemes which were in their nature impracticable or injurious, and which he seemed to offer merely for the purpose of displaying the affluence of his mind and the fertility of his ingenuity."¹⁰

Babcock, in the "Rise of the American Nationality," has characterized Calhoun, when in Congress, as a "Young Southerner of good family, fine endowments, and fine education, he was an ardent nationalist, working for, arguing for and dreaming of a great and powerful United States safely bound together for its work in the world. He was ambitious, but could afford to wait for his promotions. . . . Through all the quiet energy of his work, and the luminous diction of his speeches runs a strain of passion and chivalrous sentiment. More clearly than anyone else of this time did Calhoun fulfill the prophetic function for the South, showing forth its best spirit and noblest impulses, as yet unwarped and uncorroded by slavery."¹¹

Mr. Nathan Appleton, a visitor in Washington about 1816, wrote

"That he had been introduced to many distinguished men, among whom were Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun."¹²

These two men worked together during this Congressional session, both believing in tariff and internal improvements, and not realizing as yet, their conflicting ambitions.¹³

¹⁰ Am. Hist. Review, 11, 510-2; 1905-6.

F. J. Turner, *The South 1820-30*.

Taken from *Letters from North America*, by A. Hodgson, I, 81; 1824.

¹¹ Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, Am. Nation Series. 211.

¹² Mass. Hist. Society Proceed. V. 261. 1860-2.

Memoirs of Nathan Appleton.

¹³ William and Mary Quarterly, XVII; 143-4, a paper on the U. S. Congress and Some of Its Celebrities, Colton, *Henry Clay*, I, 434-6, VI, 108.

When Calhoun became Secretary of War in 1817, it was his first interest to strengthen the army for the needs of an expanding boundary line. His Indian policy was the most complete plan that had, up to 1818, been formulated to take care of the large unsettled territory in the western part of the United States.¹⁴ In the events connected with the Seminole War and the Acquisition of Florida, he was conservative and patient, trying to avoid rather than make war.

Toward the last of his Administration, he was nominated for President by the legislature of South Carolina,¹⁵ but he consented to run for Vice-President when it seemed that he could not compete with Jackson. Clay and Calhoun were rivals in this Presidential Campaign, while in political ideas they were no longer united. Whether or not Calhoun governed the War Department with the idea of gaining the support of the people to this higher office, is a question.

CHAPTER II

ADMINISTRATION AND REDUCTION OF THE ARMY

After administering the office of Secretary of War for some time, Calhoun stated his ideas concerning a more efficient management of the Department. He outlined his plans in letters to authorities who were connected with the control of the army. On February 5, 1818, Calhoun wrote to John Williams, Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, concerning the reorganization of the medical staff of the army. His main object in taking this step was to introduce responsibility and centralization into its government and ultimately to reduce the cost of

¹⁴ Von Holst, *Calhoun*, 45.
Niles' Register, XV. Supplement, 25.

¹⁵ *Letters of Calhoun*, House of Representatives, Documents, Am. Hist. Assn. Vol. 115, page 216. 1899-1900.

administration. He planned to accomplish this by placing some medical expert at the head, to whom all the surgeons should make quarterly reports. The same system was to be carried out in the Quartermaster's Division.¹⁶

Several times Calhoun impressed upon the commanders of the army the necessity for strict economy.

ECONOMY IN March 15, 1820, he wrote to Andrew
ADMINISTRATION Jackson: "Each head of appropriation
 has been reduced to its lowest amount,

and it will require much economy and good management to meet the ordinary expenditure of the year. You will accordingly take no measure, in the present state of business which will much increase the expense of your division."¹⁷

These two letters illustrate Calhoun's plan of action throughout his entire administration. Every man in office must be responsible to the head of the department and in the performance of his work, observe the most careful economy. This did not mean that Calhoun wished to reduce the military force as a means of lessening the expenses. To his mind it was far more economical to have a well prepared army in case of a crisis, than to waste time and money organizing one when the nation was thrust into war.

The basis for the practice of economy in the War Department may be found in the efforts of Con-

LACK OF PUBLIC gress from 1818 to 1823, to reduce the
REVENUE CAUSE expenses of the Government. One ex-

FOR ECONOMY planation for this policy was given by
 Mr. Butler of New Hampshire on March

14, 1820, when he asserted in a speech before the House, that the Treasury showed a decrease in revenue of fifty per cent, and that the exports of the United States for three years before 1820 were only one-half their usual amount.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Letters of Calhoun*, House Documents, Vol. 115, Am. Hist. Ass. Vol. II, 133-4. Calhoun did not take up the duties of Secretary of War until December 5, 1817. Hunt, *John C. Calhoun*, 43.

¹⁷ *Letters of Calhoun*, House Documents, Vol. 115, Am. Hist. Ass. Vol. II, 171.

¹⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1836. Turner, F. J. *Rise of the New West*, Am. Nation Series, 140, states that customs receipts fell between 1816 and 1821 from \$36,000,000 to \$13,000,000 and the revenue from public lands from \$3,274,000 in 1819 to \$1,635,000 in 1820.

The expense of a standing army was attacked first and a resolution passed by the House in April, 1818, asking the Secretary of War if military appropriations could not be reduced.¹⁹ Calhoun replied at the next session of Congress.²⁰ In this report he considered the army under four heads, number, organization, pay and emoluments. In 1818 the army was no larger than it was in 1802, considering the increase in population and territory between those years, and at the earlier date it was considered as small as public safety allowed. These facts made it impossible to reduce the number of soldiers. The officers' staff must not be made smaller, because, if war were declared, the lack of executive authority would cause great confusion. The great extent of territory over which the army was scattered had necessarily advanced the cost of transportation of men and supplies. Calhoun did not wish to decrease the pay of the men and officers, for the cost of living was much higher in 1818 than it had been in previous years. The only way to economize, which he suggested in this report, was to prevent waste in the handling of public property. In this connection Calhoun advised that public bids be made for supplying army rations, instead of having them bought through private contract, as had been done in the past.

Notwithstanding Calhoun's protest against decreasing the number of soldiers, Mr. Williams of North Carolina, introduced a resolution in February, 1819, to reduce the standing army to six thousand.²¹ In support of this resolution he asserted that an increase of territory and population did not necessitate a corresponding increase in the army, that large towns and cities did not need the protection of arms or forts, and that it was extravagance to support a large staff of officers.²²

¹⁹ Niles' Register, XIV, 145.

Annals of Congress, 15th Cong. 1st Sess., II, 1766.

²⁰ Niles' Register, XV, Supplement, 29.

²¹ Annals of Congress, III, 1155, 2nd Sess., 15th Cong.

²² Ibid, 1156-7.

Mr. Simpkins of South Carolina, opposed Mr. Williams' resolution and reminded Congress of the unfortunate condition of the United States in 1812 because of the lack of military forces. He declared that Calhoun was justified in demanding a large army to protect the citizens of this nation.²³

MR. SIMPKINS
SUPPORTS
CALHOUN'S
POLICY

tion.²³

In May of the next year, Henry Clay brought forth a similar resolution,²⁴ and finally Congress asked Calhoun to give his opinion on the reduction.²⁵ The Secretary of War had already realized the advisability of economy, as shown in his letter to Jackson in March, 1820, which has been quoted above. Calhoun's reply in December,

CALHOUN'S
PLAN FOR
REDUCING THE
NUMBER OF
SOLDIERS

1820, assumed that this change was inevitable and he resolved to manage it as wisely as possible.²⁶ He did not want Congress to abolish whole regiments, but only to decrease the number of soldiers in such divisions, in that way avoiding the possibility of having to train new bodies of men in case the army was suddenly increased for a war. It was easier to command some new recruits along with others already experienced in military tactics, than to use companies which were entirely ignorant of such things. Neither did he want the number of officers reduced, for mere soldiers were easy to drill, but it took time to make a good officer.

In the speeches which were made in favor of a reduction, this report was severely criticised. Mr. Williams again took the floor to oppose the recommendations of the Secretary of War and asserted that the standing army was dangerous to the liberties of the

CRITICISM OF
CALHOUN'S
REPORT

people, and that since it was a "necessary evil," they should

²³ Ibid, 1155-6-7.

²⁴ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong. 1st Sess., II, 2233.

²⁵ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong. 2nd Sess., III, 607.

²⁶ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix, 1715.

have as little of it as possible. He combated Calhoun's argument for a large staff of officers and the maintenance of a standing army, which was always prepared for immediate warfare. Because our population was double that of 1802, was no reason for an army twice as large. He knew that there were not as many as seventy-three forts to defend, as Calhoun had reported, and that it was not necessary to use the army to protect the frontier which the United States had recently acquired.²⁷

PASSAGE OF BILL The Bill to reduce the army to six thousand soldiers was passed on January 23,

1821, by a majority of 109-48.²⁸

The 16th and 17th Congresses hesitated to make even the necessary military appropriations for 1822 and '23, because Calhoun had overdrawn the account for 1821, and they feared that such an act was a dangerous usurpation of power.²⁹ Others were afraid that the United States Treasury could not meet all the demands, while a few accused him of needless extravagance.³⁰

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AGAINST MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS 1822 and '23, because Calhoun had overdrawn the account for 1821, and they feared that such an act was a dangerous usurpation of power.²⁹ Others were afraid that the United States Treasury could not meet all the demands, while a few accused him of needless extravagance.³⁰

Mr. Cannon, of Tennessee, attacked the appropriation for the support of the West Point Military Academy, and even made a motion that they consider abolishing it. He declared that it was a school where only the sons of rich men were taught military science. This would result in establishing an aristocracy in the United

ATTACK ON WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY Academy, and even made a motion that they consider abolishing it. He declared that it was a school where only the sons of rich men were taught military science.

²⁷ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 767.

²⁸ House of Representatives, *Journal*, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., 160.

Vote on Bill to reduce army to 6000. First figure is the negative vote from the State named. Second figure is the number of representatives from that State:

Kentucky	3-12	Alabama	1-1	Illinois	1-1
Maryland	4-9	Georgia	2-6	Ohio	1-6
Pennsylvania	8-25	N. Carolina	1-14	New York	8-27
New Jersey	1-3	Massachusetts	4-23	Virginia	4-27
Louisiana	1-1	S. Carolina	4-9	Tennessee	1-6
Delaware	1-2				

Taken from House Journal, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 161. Out of these representatives 28 were listed in some party and 14 of them belonged to the Democratic party in 1818. Congressional Bibliography.

²⁹ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 710.

³⁰ Annals of Congress, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., I, 1105.

States and destroy the democratic government. He was not opposed to the teaching of military science, but he wanted such instruction given to the general mass of citizens.³¹

The Secretary of War prepared a report in 1822 of the army expenses for the years 1818 to 1822, showing that the numbers of the army for those years had increased, but that the cost of maintenance for each man had decreased.³² These expenses he divided into two parts, those which are fixed by

law, such as officers' salaries, and those which can be changed at the will of the Secretary of War. The two divisions had become smaller, year by year, because the officers had kept strict account and had carefully preserved public property.³³ In 1823, he again claims that the accounts show remarkable economy in the organization of the army, chiefly through the attention which each officer had given to his department.³⁴ Besides the reports mentioned above, Calhoun prepared exact statements each year, showing how much money had been spent and for what it was used.³⁵

³¹ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1603-4.

³² House of Representatives, *Journal*, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., 318.
Niles' Register, XXII, 38-40.

³³ Numbers in the army for 1818-1822: 1818, 8199 men; 1819, 8428; 1820, 9698; 1821, 8109; 1822, 6442.
Expenditures for each person in the army: 1818, \$451.57; 1819, \$434.70; 1820, \$315.88; 1821, \$287.02; 1822, \$299.46.
Niles', XXII, 38-9-40.

³⁴ Niles' Register, XXIV, 263.

³⁵ House of Representatives, *Journal*, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., 117;
17th Cong., 1st Sess., 262.

CHAPTER III

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS AND FORTIFICATIONS

On April 12, 1818, Calhoun was asked by Congress to give a report on the national construction of roads and canals.³⁶ The Secretary of War considered such internal improvements necessary both for military defense and the development of trade, but in reply in January, 1819, he made commercial reasons secondary, while in the speech he delivered on the Bonus Bill in February, 1817, he had advocated internal improvements, primarily to strengthen the nation commercially and politically, and only incidentally to serve as a means of defense in war.

Calhoun worked out a system of inland transportation which would protect the northern, eastern and southern boundaries. Local roads not extending beyond the boundaries of a state, were to be left to that state, but those going through a large section of the United States were to be built by the government. The most important work would be a highway along the eastern coast, over which troops could be marched when it was dangerous to transport them by sea. North of the Chesapeake Bay the coast is very accessible, making it expedient to build roads from all parts of the country to this section, so that it would be easy quickly to concentrate troops at any point. Calhoun suggested that other roads be built from Albany to the Lakes; Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Richmond to the Ohio river, and from Augusta to Tennessee. On the northern frontier he planned canals between Albany, Lake George and Lake Ontario, and between Pittsburg and Lake Erie. Roads were to be built from Plattsburg to Sackett Harbor, and from Detroit to the Ohio. The southwest was naturally guarded by the Mississippi River, while a canal from the

³⁶ Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1678.

Illinois river to Lake Michigan completed the system of communication. The cost of building these roads was to be reduced by employing part of the army and paying them slightly higher wages than they ordinarily received.³⁷ Congress went so far as to appoint a committee in December, 1819, to consider the building of roads and canals, but it was discharged before anything was accomplished.³⁸

In its economical mood toward military appropriations, the House considered the advisability in January, 1820, of stopping the construction of all forts.³⁹ It also asked Calhoun for a statement of the money that was being used for this purpose, and the progress which had been made on the different

CONGRESSIONAL
OPPOSITION TO
BUILDING OF
FORTS

fortifications.⁴⁰

This time he gave the report of one of his chief engineers, who had special charge of such works. He had had the northern, southern and eastern coasts inspected and had planned a system of forts, such that each fort was

REPORT ON
FORTIFICATIONS

connected with the next in a continuous chain of defense. They were all to fulfill some of the following conditions:⁴¹

1. Close some important harbor to the enemy.
2. Deprive the enemy of strong positions where he could get a foothold in the United States.
3. To protect the cities from attack.
4. To protect avenues of internal trade.
5. Cover coast trade.
6. Cover great naval establishments.

The whole system was to cost a little more than one million dollars, and even then, the forts were not all to be built at once, but were divided into three classes, according to the nation's need for them. A committee was appointed on December 8,

³⁷ *Annals of Congress*, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., IV, 2443.

³⁸ *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., 708.
Ibid, II, 2241.

³⁹ *Ibid*, I, 891.

⁴⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1594.

⁴¹ *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., Appendix, 1731, Feb. 7, 1821.

1819, to consider the subject of fortifications. It made a report on April 24, 1820, which was laid on the table without any debate.

The fulfilling of the Mix or Rip Rap contract for fortifications on the Chesapeake Bay caused Calhoun to be severely criticised.⁴² The

THE MIX OR	
RIP RAP	
CONTRACT	
CONDEMNED BY	
CONGRESS	

House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate the affair, and they gained the following information about the forts. The contract had been given to Mix in April, 1818, but the com-

mittee was sure that other men could have been found who would have furnished the stone much cheaper. After the work was started, Mix did not deliver the stone at the appointed time, and sold parts of the contract to other men. The chief engineer of the government, who was a relative of Mix, bought an interest in it and the committee suspected some fraud in that transaction. They condemned the engineer for not advertising the bids and for the careless methods used in issuing the contract.

The testimony of several stone merchants was taken and most of them agreed that Mr. Mix had

DEFENCE OF	
MR. MIX	

furnished the stone for a very low price and that if the cost of freight and labor had not unexpectedly dropped, he would have lost money. The lowering of freight rates made it possible for him to make profit. Whether or not the stone was delivered on time was not decided. The engineer who succeeded the one mentioned above, asserted that it was not customary to advertise for bids, when the work was to be done in such a closely settled district as the region about the Chesapeake Bay.

⁴² Hunt, *G. John C. Calhoun*, 60.

The only faults which were connected with the transaction, were the tardy supplying of stone, and the suspicious reselling of the contract. No-

ALL
APPROPRIATIONS
FOR THE
CONTRACT ARE
STOPPED BY
CONGRESS

body was to blame if the low freight rates and wages made the prices of 1818 look extravagant to the Congressmen in 1822. Calhoun had nothing to do with this contract, except as he gave his silent

sanction to the whole transaction, although it came out in the evidence that when the engineer had considered buying a share in it, Calhoun had warned him of the effect such a deal would have on public opinion. The committee recommended in their report, on May 7, 1822, that no further appropriations be made to Mr. Mix for his work.⁴³

In all his military work Calhoun grasped large situations and dealt with comprehensive plans. His re-

CALHOUN'S
MILITARY
ADMINISTRATION

port on military roads showed that he had an accurate knowledge of the geography of the United States, and a keen appreciation of the strategic points for defense.

The advice on the reduction of the army revealed his ability to solve, in a clear and logical manner the most perplexing questions. It is interesting to surmise how much he could have done if he had had the support of Congress.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Regulation of Indian affairs as well as the administration of of the Army, formed an important part

RAPID
SETTLEMENT
OF THE WEST

of Calhoun's work as Secretary of War. Between 1812 and 1820, the land between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, as far south as the Gulf, was settled

very rapidly. Tennessee, Kentucky and the banks of the Miss-

⁴³ All the Mix Contract papers are found in the American State Papers, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., Sec. 109.

issippi had the densest population, while between these two dates, five new western states were admitted to the Union.⁴⁴ In 1820 over one-third of the people of the United States lived in this region. These facts made the Indian question one of national importance.

Since 1802 Congress had managed the trading stations, but in 1819 it considered abolishing these posts

CHANGE IN SYS-
TEM OF INDIAN
TRADE

and opening the fur trade to individuals.⁴⁵ In December of that year Calhoun made a report dealing with this change.⁴⁷

Before taking up the real subject of the report, he summarized the history of Indian trade. When there were no European settlements in America, the Indians had been able to supply their own meagre wants, but after they began to trade with white men, they demanded

CALHOUN'S
REPORT

more than they knew how to make for themselves. This made them dependent on the merchants of the colonies and later, of

the United States. By taking advantage of these circumstances, Calhoun wanted the government to establish a just and efficient control over the Indians, and our trade with them. He advised the government gradually to abolish its factories and to open the trading privileges to every man who bought a license from his department. Calhoun planned to sell the permits for \$100, intending by this means to protect the Indian from the merchant with small capital. These traders would be hard to keep under government control, for if they were tried for some offense, they would forfeit their outfit, rather than obey the laws which secured justice to the Indian.

⁴⁴ Turner, F. J. *Rise of the New West*, 70. The new states were Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819).

⁴⁵ Walker, *Statistical Atlas of U. S.* Region including Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida.

The original 13 Atlantic States had in 1820, 7417 inhabitants. The above named group had in 1820, 2,216,390 inhabitants.

⁴⁶ Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 546.

Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1675.

⁴⁷ Niles' Register, XV, Supplement, 25.

Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 366.

For purposes of administration the territory was divided into two districts, one in the "immediate neighborhood of civilization," and the second was the land "west of the Mississippi." In the first district individual traders could carry on the work satisfactorily, while in the other one conditions made this plan impossible. Here the Hudson's Bay Company was so strong that it was impossible for unorganized men to compete with them.⁴⁸ Calhoun tried to overcome this difficulty by creating a company of American Fur Traders, in which each man who was a stockholder, would buy a share for \$100.

Calhoun planned a line of forts on the western frontier for two purposes; to foster and protect trade and keep out English interference. In 1818 an expedition was sent out to establish a post on the Yellowstone River, but later in the year he decided to transfer it to Mandan, because that place was nearer the English post on the Red River.⁴⁹ At the same time he planned a chain of forts to guard the frontier.⁵⁰ Two posts were to be established on the Mississippi, one was Fort Armstrong and the other was situated at the juncture of that river with the Minnesota river. At the head of navigation of the Minnesota, he built a second fort, which had an overland connection with Mandan and the third was situated at the head of the St. Croix.⁵¹

Congress cut down the Indian Appropriations, assuming the same attitude toward them that they did toward those for military purposes. In 1822 they hesitated to give Calhoun money

⁴⁸ Niles' Register, XV, Supplement, 25.

Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., IV, 2455.

Calhoun gives no suggestion that he had ever had any experience with the small traders mentioned above.

⁴⁹ House of Representatives, *Documents*, V, 115, p. 115, 162.

Am. Hist. Ass., 1889-1900, V, 2. *Letters of Calhoun*.

Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 114. In 1820 Calhoun sent Gov. Cass to Minnesota to drive out the English and establish American influence.

⁵⁰ House of Representatives, *Documents*, V, 115, 1899-1900, II, 147-8.

Letters of Calhoun.

Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, IV, 143.

⁵¹ See map.

to conduct this part of his Administration because they did not know definitely what the money was to be used for. One Congressman said that it bribed the savages not to cut the throats of white men. Others thought he had been extravagant and wasteful in Indian affairs.⁵² There were, however, enough in favor of the measure to keep it from being defeated.⁵³

Mr. McCoy, a Baptist missionary among the Indians of the United States, wrote on June 23, 1822, to Lewis Cass, then Governor of Michigan Territory, and to two members of Congress, concerning a plan for colonizing the Indians, then living east of the Mississippi, on land west of that river.⁵⁴ The suggestions of Mr. McCoy may have had

some connection with the Resolution for having the Committee of Indian Affairs, of the House, inquire into the purchasing of land in the west, to be used for the purpose of colonization.⁵⁵ On December 30, 1823, a month before this Resolution was passed, Mr. McCoy called on the Secretary of War and again urged the plan of moving the Indians to permanent homes in the west. Mr. Calhoun was in favor of the policy, and said that it would be successful if they could convince Congress of its advisability.⁵⁶ To accomplish this, the Board of Missions presented a petition to Congress in March, 1824, praying for the removal of the Indians.⁵⁷ On January 27, 1825, Monroe sent a message to Congress, urging them to take this step and accompanying his message was a more detailed report from Calhoun.⁵⁸ He enumerated the places from which Indians ought to be removed, and located favorable

⁵² Annals of Congress, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., I, 693-695.

⁵³ House Journal, 17th Cong., 2nd Sess., 312.

⁵⁴ McCoy, *History of Indian Affairs*, 200.

⁵⁵ Annals of Congress, 18th Cong., 1st Sess., I, 1164.

⁵⁶ McCoy, *History of Indian Affairs*, 218.

⁵⁷ Annals of Congress, 18th Cong., 2nd Sess., II.

⁵⁸ Niles' Register, XXVII, 363.

spots for their settlement west of Arkansas and Missouri. In carrying out this plan there were several principles to be observed. Above all, the government should try to keep peace among the different tribes, and the schools, which they had given, were to be moved with them, so that they should have the same advantages of civilization. The government agents must assure them that this new land will not be taken away from them. An effort should also be made to unite all the tribes and to introduce the laws of the United States among them, so that in time they might enjoy the privileges of citizens. To this end Calhoun advised Congress to hold a convention of the leading Indians.⁵⁹

The main ideas which run through Calhoun's reports in this chapter, are, the necessity of keeping English traders out of the United States territory, and the peaceful admission of the Indians to participation in the United States Government. He realized that if the English were allowed to trade in our possessions, they would incite the natives to war and drive out our traders. The Indians could not be civilized while they were treated as a foreign and often antagonistic nation.

CHAPTER V

THE CONFLICT ON THE FRONTIER

No part of his work as Secretary of War exhibits Calhoun's diplomacy and caution so well as his connection with the Seminole War and annexation of Florida.

The War was caused by the attacks of the Seminole Indians on citizens of the United States, in Spanish territory and on the American side of the boundary.⁶⁰ The Governor of Pensacola⁶¹ asserted in 1818, that he had neither the force nor the authority to conquer the Indians, but that he was as anxious as the United States to stop the outrages which they committed.⁶² Nevertheless the Committee on

⁵⁹ Niles' Register, XXVII, 404.

⁶⁰ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1618-9.

⁶¹ An important Spanish fort in the southwestern part of Florida.

⁶² Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., IV, Appendix, 1970.

Foreign Affairs, reported to the House of Representatives that the Spanish had "permitted the Indian inhabitants of that territory, whom they had promised by treaty to restrain, to engage in savage hostilities against us."⁶³

Mr. Adams, the Secretary of State, asserted that the Spanish were aiding the Indians, by giving them supplies and allowing the fort to be used for their councils of war.⁶⁴

After some hesitation, Calhoun, in the name of the President, ordered General Gaines to cross the boundary of Florida and subdue the natives. This message was sent in a letter from the Secretary of War to General Gaines, dated December 16, 1817, in which Calhoun wrote,

THE U. S. ARMY
IS ORDERED
ACROSS THE
BOUNDARY INTO
FLORIDA

"On the receipt of this letter, should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the President, that you consider yourself at liberty to march across the Florida line, and to attack them within its limits, should it be found necessary, unless they should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort. In the last event you will immediately notify this Department."⁶⁵

General Jackson was not ordered to join Gaines until the 26th of December, 1817,⁶⁶ and it is very likely that he enjoyed the same privilege of crossing the Florida boundary. On December 26th, Calhoun wrote to Jackson, telling him that Gaines had probably by that date carried the war into Florida, and,

"With this in view, you may be prepared to concentrate your force, and to adopt the necessary measures to terminate a conflict, which it has been the desire of the President, from considerations of humanity to avoid; but which is now made necessary by their settled hostilities."⁶⁷

⁶³ Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1618-9.

⁶⁴ Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2d Sess., IV, 1826-39.

Letter of Mr. Adams to Mr. Erving, Minister to Spain.

⁶⁵ State Papers, 15th Cong., 2d Sess., I, Sec. 14, page 35.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Page 33.

⁶⁷ State Papers, 15th Cong., 2d Sess., Sec. 14, page 33.

Again on January 16th, 1818, Calhoun wrote to General Gaines,

"The honor of the United States requires, that the war with the Seminoles should be terminated speedily, and with exemplary punishment for hostilities so unprovoked. Orders were issued soon after my arrival here, directing the war to be carried within the limits of Florida, should it be necessary to its speedy and effectual termination."⁶⁸

It would have been useless to order the war carried on in Florida, without allowing General Jackson to cross the boundary of that territory. A good summary of Jackson's powers was given in a letter from Calhoun to William W. Bibb, Governor of Alabama Territory, written on the 13th day of May, 1818:

"Enclosed is a copy of the order authorizing General Gaines to carry the war into Florida; and you will consider it as furnishing authority to the troops of the territory to pass the Florida line, should it be necessary. I send also a copy of a message of the President communicating information in regard to the Seminole War. General Jackson is vested with full powers to conduct the war, in the manner which he may judge best."⁶⁹

No direct orders to General Jackson to enter the Spanish territory, as were given to General Gaines, can be found in the State Papers. JACKSON TAKES Nevertheless, he took his troops into ST. MARKS AND Florida in the first part of 1818, and on PENSACOLA April 2, captured St. Marks,⁷⁰ while in the following May he obtained the surrender of Pensacola,⁷¹ both of which were important Spanish forts of the coast.

In June and July of that year, the newspapers made comments on the merits of Jackson's action. The "National Intelligencer" commended him⁷² and states that he had taken the

⁶⁸ Ibid. Page 37.

⁶⁹ Ibid. Page 39. Evidently Calhoun did not know of the capture of St. Marks and Pensacola when he wrote this letter.

⁷⁰ State Papers, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., I, Sec. 14, page 50-1.

⁷¹ Ibid. Page 87.

⁷² Niles' Register, XIV, 337-383.

forts for purely patriotic motives. The Democratic Press, as Niles classed it, praised Jackson for this act,⁷³ while the "Richmond Enquirer," a paper which favored Crawford, called it,

"an act of war and perfidy, showing a grasping nature on the part of the United States."⁷⁴

The "Franklin Gazette," a Calhoun paper, said,⁷⁵

"Jackson is a man of great courage and noble character, but does not see the value of strict discipline and subordination. He has placed the country in a most delicate situation."⁷⁶

Jackson sent a report to Calhoun dated June 2, 1818, giving an account of the taking of Pensacola, and his reasons for doing so.⁷⁷ On his march toward that fort, he had been warned by

JACKSON'S
ACCOUNT OF
HIS CAPTURE OF
PENSACOLA

the Spanish governor to advance no farther, but being confident of the hostile feelings of the Commander toward the United States, he proceeded on and took the fort with little resistance. Jackson did not change the Spanish government of Pensacola, but established revenue laws on the coast to stop smuggling and admit the American merchants to equal rights with those of Spain. This event practically closed the war, as there were very few Indians left who had not recognized the superiority of Jackson's army. He asserted further, that it was impossible to establish an imaginary boundary line when Spain was not doing anything to subdue the Indians in her territory, and that

"The immutable principles of self-defense, justified, therefore, the occupancy of the Floridas and will warrant the American government in holding them until such time when Spain can maintain her authority in it."

Calhoun emphatically disapproved of the capture of St. Marks and Pensacola. He wrote to Charles Tait of South Carolina, on July 20, 1818:

⁷³ Ibid. 369.

⁷⁴ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, VI, 50. This reference states that the "Richmond Enquirer" was a Crawford paper.

Niles' Register, XIV, 371.

⁷⁵ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, VI, 244-5, gives evidence that the "Franklin Gazette" supported Calhoun.

⁷⁶ Niles' Register, XIV, 398-9.

⁷⁷ State Papers, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., I, Sec. 14, page 87.

"The taking of Pensacola was unauthorized and done on his (Jackson's) own responsibility. The place will be given back to Spain, for above all things the peace of the country should be preserved. We have nothing to gain in a war with Spain, and would be liable to lose our commerce in such a war. We want time. Let us grow."⁷⁸

CALHOUN
CONDEMNNS
JACKSON FOR
THE CAPTURE OF
THESE FORTS

On the same day that this last letter was written John Q. Adams stated that Calhoun considered the capture of these two towns a violation of the Constitution and an act of war against Spain. The Secretary of War even accused Jackson of having deliberately disobeyed his orders and acted on his own arbitrary will.⁷⁹ Yet Calhoun wrote to Jackson on December 23, 1818,

"Its (Florida) acquisition, in a commercial, military and point of view would be of great importance to us."⁸⁰

He may have been working for the same thing that Jackson was fighting for, but condemned Jackson's methods; or, taking his letter to Governor Bibb into account, he did not realize, before the seizure of St. Marks and Pensacola, what the consequences of such an act would be.

President Monroe ordered the two forts to be surrendered to the Spanish government until affairs in Florida could be decided definitely.⁸¹

THE FORTS
RETURNED TO
SPAIN AND
JACKSON
PROTECTED BY
PUBLIC OPINION

The remaining question of what to do with Jackson was practically determined by public opinion. Calhoun wrote to Mr. Tait, that the popularity of the General made it impolitic to punish him.⁸²

President Monroe confirms this statement in a letter which he wrote to Madison, acknowledging

⁷⁸ Gulf State Historical Society, I, 92. Letters of Calhoun to Mr. Tait.

⁷⁹ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, IV, 113.

⁸⁰ Letters of Calhoun, House Documents, V, 115, Am. Hist. Ass. V, II, 87; 1899-1900.

⁸¹ State Papers, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., Sec. 14, page 87, August 14, 1818.

⁸² Gulf State Historical Magazine, I, 94.

Letters of Calhoun to Mr. Tait.

that if Jackson had been brought to trial, the interior of the country would have been agitated by appeals to the sectional interests and imputations of subserviency to Ferdinand of Spain.⁸³

Throughout this series of incidents, Calhoun's principal idea was to bring about peace as soon as possible.⁸⁴ He wished to avoid war with Spain or England, whom he thought would come to Spain's aid, because of the heavy expense of war and the inevitable injury to the nation's commerce.⁸⁵

The Acquisition of Florida was a natural sequel to the conditions involving the Seminole War. Before Jackson crossed the boundary line, rumors were afloat that Florida was to be transferred to this country.⁸⁶ A treaty to that effect was drawn up by the Department of State and in September, 1819, was ratified by the Senate.⁸⁷ Everything was to be settled when King Ferdinand of Spain signed the same document. For various reasons this did not take place until 1821. In May, 1820, a minister from Spain told the government that the King did not wish to sign the treaty until he knew what policy the United States would assume toward the South American republics.⁸⁸ At the same time his attention was called away from Florida affairs by a revolution in Spain.⁸⁹

83 Letters of Monroe, VI, 87, Feb. 7, 1819.

84 State Papers, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., I, Sec. 14, pages 37-8.

85 House of Representatives, V, 115, *Documents*. Am. Hist. Ass., 1899-1900, V. 2, pages 145-6.

Calhoun's Letters. Niles' Register, XVI, 88.

86 Niles' Register, XIII, 29, 95.

87 Letters of Monroe, VI, 106.

88 Letters of Monroe, VI, 118.

Letters of Calhoun, House Documents, V, 115, Am. Hist. Ass., V, II, 181; 1899-1900.

89 Niles' Register, XVIII, 137.

Congress became impatient at his delay, and on March 9, 1820, the Foreign Affairs Committee, at the suggestion of the President, introduced a bill which recommended, in very strong terms, the immediate occupation of Florida.⁹⁰ President Monroe called a cabinet meeting on March 21, to con-

consider the postponement of proceedings relative to Florida to the next session of Congress. At this meeting Calhoun firmly opposed such a measure and ridiculed the idea that we hesitate on account of foreign interference or the recent revolution in Spain.⁹¹ In the same month he wrote to Jackson expressing his hope that Congress would take immediate action in regard to Florida, but he made no reference to his disapproval of Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War.⁹² The following May, Calhoun took exactly the opposite stand and advised the President to refrain from acting on the matter until the next Congress met.⁹³ He was convinced that at present they should not take such a step, which he felt would bring about a disagreement between the Executive and the Legislature. Calhoun had reasonable grounds for this last opinion, because on March 30, the House had voted to lay the Florida bill on the table, and doubtless did not wish to consider the matter again.⁹⁴

Above all things Calhoun did not think that the United States should go to war with Spain for the possession of Florida. If the nation could annex the territory in peace, he would approve of the step, but they could not afford to fight for it. He con-

demned Jackson because his actions might lead to a war in which not only Spain, but also England, would oppose the United States. The nation needed to accumulate strength in commerce and internal development. It could not afford to

90 Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., II, 1618-9.

91 Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, V, 29.

92 *Letters of Calhoun*, House Document, V, 115, Am. Hist. Ass., V. II, 171; 1899-1900.

93 Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, V, 100-1.

94 Journal of the House, 16th Cong., 1st Sess., 353.

spend money for military supplies, which could be used to great advantage in building roads and canals. Calhoun expressed the policy of his administration in three words of his letter to Mr. Tait, when he wrote: "Let us grow."

CHAPTER VI

CALHOUN AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

John Q. Adams wrote on December 29, 1821, less than a year after Monroe's second inauguration,

CALHOUN	that a delegation of men from Pennsylv-
CONSENTS	ania had called on Calhoun and asked
TO BECOME	him to become a candidate in the Presi-
A CANDIDATE	dential election of 1824. ⁹⁵ He as-
IN 1824	sented, but a few days later assured a

friend, Mr. W. Phemer of New Hampshire, that, after some hesitation, he only wished to run against a southern man, for personally he was in favor of a northern President.⁹⁶ Presumably Calhoun meant by this that he was willing to compete with Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, a man whom he thoroughly disliked. In a conversation with Mr. Adams, on April 22, 1822, Calhoun

"spoke with great bitterness of Crawford, of whose manoeuvres and intrigues to secure the election to the next Presidency and to blast the administration of Mr. Monroe, of which he is a member, he (Calhoun) has a full and thorough knowledge. He said there had never been a man in our history, who had risen so high of so corrupt a character or upon so slender a basis of service; and that he (Calhoun) had witnessed the whole series of Crawford's operations from the winter of 1816 to this time."⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, V, 466, 468.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 477-8.

⁹⁷ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs*, V, 497-8.

The other candidates who appeared in 1822, were J. Q. Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, DeWitt Clinton of New York and Crawford of Georgia. All of these, with the exception of Clay, were over ten years older than Calhoun, who was thirty-eight at the time of his nomination.⁹⁸ "His age, or rather his youth," was an obstacle to success from the very beginning of the campaign.⁹⁹

Party lines were very indefinite in the preliminaries of this campaign. Gallatin wrote that if Calhoun was nominated he would be the "Federal" candidate.¹⁰⁰ Elijah H. Mills, writing to a friend in 1823, classed Calhoun as a "Democrat" with principles like those of Adams, inferring that he belonged to the old conservative democratic party, but of a very different class from that of Crawford.¹⁰¹ In 1824 Niles stated that Calhoun was nominated by the Democratic Republicans at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.¹⁰² Calhoun in his letters, speaks of Crawford as a Radical, and suggests that he (Calhoun) would like to have the support of the New York Republicans.¹⁰³

The following description of this campaign is given by Lyon G. Tyler, in "The Life and Letters of the Tylers.:"

"At this time, five aspirants had loomed up,—William H. Crawford, Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. All these claimed to be of the good old Republican school, successors in principle as in time of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. But the truth, that only the first had any pretensions to true orthodoxy. The others were latitudinarians from centre to circumference, new men, supporters of the War of 1812, and all fortunate enough to be on the national stage at that important juncture, to gather political capital to speculate on for the rest of their

⁹⁸ Niles' Register, XXIII, 369.

⁹⁹ Story, J., *Life and Letters of*, I, 426.

¹⁰⁰ Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 581. May 13, 1822.

¹⁰¹ *Letters of Elijah H. Mills*, Mass. Hist. Society, XIX, 37. 1881-1882.

¹⁰² Niles' Register, XXVI, 20.

¹⁰³ *Letters of Calhoun*, House Documents, V. 115, Am. Hist. Ass., V. II, page 206.

natural lives. Restless in the harness of the old party ideas, they had kicked the traces of strict construction, and were now eagerly bidding for the scattered Federal vote by vying with one another in patronizing the vast schemes, embraced under the name, 'American System.'"¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁵

As most of the candidates mentioned above were in the House

FACTIONS OF
THE DIFFERENT
CANDIDATES IN
THE HOUSE AND
CABINET

or the Cabinet, they began to form small factions in these departments, through which they fought for their elections.¹⁰⁶

This was partially the cause for the opposition to the military and Indian appropriations for the Secretary of War. Rufus King of New York, wrote on January

8, 1822, to C. King,¹⁰⁷

"The premature nomination of sundry gentlemen as candidates for the Presidency and among them the nomination of Mr. Calhoun, has given rise to this discussion, concerning the proposed appropriation asked for by the Secretary of War for the Indian Department. Those who may be in favor of some other candidate than Mr. Calhoun, are supposed to take this occasion to manifest their dislike to him, though the occasion is ill taken, and if such be the motive, it seems more likely to serve than injure him."

In the Cabinet this discussion was made apparent by the enmity between Calhoun and Crawford. John Q. Adams, the Secretary of State, who was also a candidate for the Presidency in this campaign, stated on July 8, 1822:

"The relations in which I now stand with Calhoun are delicate and difficult. At the last session of Congress he suffered a few members of Congress, with a newspaper in Pennsylvania, to set him up as candidate for the succession to the Presidency. From that moment the caballing in Congress, in the State Legislatures, in the newspapers, and among the people had been multiplied ten fold. My personal intercourse with him now is necessarily an intercourse of civility and not of confidence."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 210.

¹⁰⁵ Tyler, L. G. *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, 341; 1880.

¹⁰⁶ Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 562.

¹⁰⁷ King, R., *Life and Correspondence*, VI, 437.

¹⁰⁸ Adams, J. Q. *Memoirs*, VI, 42.

In April, 1824, Adams again wrote that precedent and popularity

"was the bent of his (Calhoun's) mind. The primary principles involved in any public question are the last that occur to him. What *has been done* and what *will be said* are the Jachin and Boaz of his argument."¹⁰⁹

It was even asserted by Niles that these cabinet members worked to promote their own interests rather than those of their country.¹¹⁰

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ATTACKS ON CALHOUN AND HIS CANDIDACY Mr. Von Holst in his "Life of John C. Calhoun," writes that "The Presidency was at the bottom of these acrimonious bickerings" against the Secretary of War.¹¹¹ This was undoubtedly true after

December of 1821, when Calhoun first declared his intention to be a candidate for the Presidency, and serves to explain the attacks on the military and Indian appropriations in 1822.¹¹² However, the speeches of Mr. Williams of North Carolina, against Calhoun's reports in 1819 and the early part of 1821, must have been prompted by some other motives, for Calhoun's future aspirations could hardly have been known at that time.¹¹³

Newspapers played an important part in the election of 1824.

NEWSPAPER PARTISANSHIP Four of the Washington papers supported three of the candidates. The "National Journal" worked for Mr. Adams, the "National Intelligencer," and "Washington Gazette" favored Crawford. Calhoun's paper was the "Washington Republican,"¹¹⁴ while in the north, the New York "Patriot," the "Franklin Gazette" and "Boston Galaxy" were trying to make him President.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 177.

¹¹⁰ Niles' Register, XXIV, 337.

¹¹¹ Von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*, 53. The failure of the Yellowstone Expedition, mentioned in III, was used against Calhoun in this election. Turner, F. J. *Rise of the New West*. Am. Nation Series, 126.

¹¹² House of Representatives, *Journal*, 17th Cong., 1st Sess., 620.

Adams, J. Q. *Memoirs*, V, 466-468.

¹¹³ Annals of Congress, 15th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 1155.

Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 2nd Sess., III, 767.

Niles' Register, XXII, 9-10.

¹¹⁴ Niles' Register, XXIV, 178.

¹¹⁵ Adams, J. Q. *Memoirs*, VI, 244-5.

In November, 1823, the South Carolina legislature nominated Calhoun for President,¹¹⁶ giving as their

NOMINATION OF CALHOUN reasons, "his devotion to the administration, superiority to local views and sectional principles, his zeal and energy in the late war with England, and his pure and incorruptible integrity."¹¹⁷

When it became evident that General Jackson was the choice of Pennsylvania, and that that state would determine the election, Calhoun very wisely decided to be a candidate for Vice-President.¹¹⁸

Early in 1824 a test vote in the Assembly and Senate of New York indicated that he had very little support in those Houses. Adams, Crawford

CALHOUN'S STRENGTH AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY and Clay, in the order named, received more votes than Calhoun in the Assembly. In the Senate, Adams and Crawford were ahead of him.¹¹⁹ A few days later,

on March 20, 1824, the citizens of Carbarrus County, North Carolina, resolved that they would support Jackson, Calhoun or Adams for the Presidency, before they would Crawford.¹²⁰

As candidate for Vice-President, Calhoun proved to have the support of practically all of the states and

UNITED SUPPORT OF BOTH PARTIES FOR VICE-PRESIDENCY of both the Adams and Jacksonian followers. In New York the friends of General Jackson met and nominated Jackson and Calhoun for President and Vice-President.¹²¹ The electors of Ver-

mont, who supported Mr. Adams, also voted for Calhoun.¹²² Maryland gave Jackson seven votes and Adams, three, for President, while Calhoun received ten for Vice-President.¹²³

¹¹⁶ Letters of Calhoun, House Doc. V, 115. Am. Hist. Ass., V. II, 216.

¹¹⁷ Niles' Register, XXIV, 243.

¹¹⁸ Colton, *Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, IV, 87.

Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 601-2.

¹¹⁹ Niles' Register, XXVII, 19.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 39.

¹²¹ Ibid. 99.

¹²² Ibid. 161.

¹²³ Niles' Register, XXVI, 39.

On March 4, 1824, the "Democratic Republicans," at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominated Jackson and Calhoun. They paid tribute to the latter for

"his democracy, enlightened views of national policy and fearless devotion to public good;¹²⁴ his services in the War of 1812, and the economy and system in the War Department, which saved the country much money."¹²⁵

When the final vote was taken by the House of Representatives, the three states which Calhoun lost, Delaware, Virginia and Georgia, were three of the four states which supported Crawford. All the states whose representatives voted for either Adams or Jackson were in favor of Calhoun.¹²⁶

CHAPTER VII

JOHN C. CALHOUN

There are very few sketches of Calhoun's character which apply only to the time when he was Secretary of War, perhaps because he did not stand out so prominently in public life in that period of his career.

When Calhoun assumed the Secretaryship, he brought his family to Washington and bought the

CALHOUN'S home on the heights of Georgetown to
PERSONALITY which they gave the name "Oakley." He
was very well liked socially on account of

his pleasant, unassuming manners and charming personality. His unfathomable blue eyes and firm set features, gave indications of deep thought and self-reliance. When people looked at him they realized that he had qualities which would make him a distinguished character among his fellow men.¹²⁷ At this time all his virtues were well summarized by one of his later political enemies, who said, "Mr. Calhoun deserves all that you can say for him. He is a most captivating man."¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Ibid. 20.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 41. Apparently these were not the same men who approached Calhoun about the presidential candidacy.

¹²⁶ Niles' Register, XXVII, 382-388.

¹²⁷ Hunt, G., *John C. Calhoun*, 36.

¹²⁸ "Saw in him an indescribable attribute which set him apart from his fellow men and proclaimed him to be moulded upon greater lines."

¹²⁸ Colton, Henry Clay Correspondence, Dec. 5, 1824. IV, 107.

The Calhoun family were prominent in the life of Washington. Their official dinners were described as being the most pleasant of any given by members of the cabinet, the reason being that they invited women, and that Calhoun was an exceedingly good conversationalist.¹²⁹ The attentions and aid which they received at the death of one of their daughters indicated the regard which people had for them. Young men especially seemed to be greatly attracted by Calhoun, and many were influenced by his political ideals.¹³⁰

Calhoun was not a man who studied patiently and deeply on any problem. After giving it a brief survey and grasping the essential points he depended on his intuition and genius to arrive at a solution. Often this method brought him correct and even brilliant conclusions, but sometimes he advocated such radical measures that his followers rejected them and lost their confidence in him. Once he advised a member of the Cabinet to study less and trust more to his genius.

"He certainly practised his own precepts and became justly a distinguished man," wrote William Wirt, "It may do very well in politics where a proposition had only to be compared with general principles with which the politician is familiar"¹³¹

Another, writing of Calhoun's early career, declared:

"He wants, I think, consistency and perseverance of mind, and seems incapable of long continued and patient investigation. What he does not see at the first examination, he seldom takes pains to search for; but his analysis never fails to furnish him with all that may be necessary for his immediate purposes. In his legislative career, which, though short, was uncommonly luminous, his love of novelty and his apparent solicitude to astonish were so great that he has occasionally been known to go beyond even the dreams of political vision-

¹²⁹ Ticknor, George, *Life of*, I, 349.

¹³⁰ Hunt, G., *John C. Calhoun*, 39.

¹³¹ *Am. Hist. Review*, II, 571-2, 1905-6. John P. Kennedy, *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt*, 1849; II, 164.

aries and to propose schemes which were in their nature impracticable or injurious, and which he seemed to offer merely for the purpose of displaying the affluence of his mind and the fertility of his ingenuity."¹³²

A New England man classed Calhoun next to Webster in intellectual power and second only to Clay as an orator. When Calhoun finished speaking he left the impression of immense power.¹³³ and "every thought that he uttered or imagined was marked by his grand characteristic, impetuous energy."¹³⁴ These three men were called at a later time the

"illustrious triumvirate and the greatest of the second generation of statesmen, who, within a brief time of one another, fell, shattered by the contentions of Congress."¹³⁵

A personal friend of Calhoun's gave the following character sketch of him:

"He is ardent, persevering, industrious and temperate,—of great activity and quickness of perception, and rapidity of utterance, as a politician, too theorizing, speculative and metaphysical, magnificent in his views of the powers and capacities of the government, and of the virtue, intelligence and wisdom of the people. He is in favor of elevating, cherishing and increasing all the institutions of the government, and of making a vigorous and energetic administration of it. From his rapidity of thought, he is often wrong in his conclusions, and his theories are sometimes impracticable. He has always claimed to be, and is, of the Democratic party, but of a very different class from that of Crawford; more like Adams, and his schemes are sometimes denounced by his party as ultra fanatical. His private character is estimable and exemplary, and his devotion to his official duties is regular and severe."¹³⁶

¹³² Am. Hist. Review, II, 570-2, 1905-6.

Quoted by A. Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I, 81. Published in 1824.

¹³³ Gulf State Hist. Mag., I, 284. Documents, *A New England Estimate of Calhoun*.

¹³⁴ Hart, *S. P. Chase*, 10.

¹³⁵ Illinois Hist. Society, 1908, p. 56.

Steven A. Douglas, by Adlai E. Stevenson.

¹³⁶ Mass. Hist. Society Proceed., XIX, 37; 1881-1882. *Letters of Elijah H. Mills*.

Calhoun gave men such an impression of seriousness, perhaps even coldness at times, that he rarely had any intimate friends and, as he grew older, withdrew more and more to himself.¹³⁷

All the reports of Calhoun's character were not as favorable as those given above, for Gallatin in his

CRITICISMS OF letters called him a

CALHOUN

"smart fellow, one of the first among second rate men, but of lax political principles and a disordinate ambition, not over delicate in the means of satisfying itself."¹³⁸

Lyon G. Tyler in his book on the Tylers, writing of the Presidential candidates in 1823, accused Calhoun of gaining political glory in the War of 1812, and living on it for the rest of his life.¹³⁹

In July, 1824, Calhoun stated his views on the interpretation of the Consitution, in a letter to Robert

CALHOUN'S

S. Garnett, declaring that the,

EXPLANATIONS

OF HIS OWN

POLITICAL VIEWS

"one portion of the Constitution which I most admire, is the distribution of power between the States and general government. This is our invention—and I consider it to be the greatest improvement which has been made in the science of government, after the division of power into the legislative, executive and judicial.—It is only by this admirable distribution that a great extent of territory with a proportional population and power, can be reconciled with freedom, and consequently, that safety and respectability be given to free States. As much then as I value freedom, in the same degree do I value State rights." Speaking of the interpretation of the Constitution on this point, he said: "I can give but one solution to this interesting question, and that is, it ought to be drawn in the spirit of the instrument itself.—Believing that no general and artificial rule can be devised that will not act mischevously in its application, I am forced to the result that any doubtful portion of the Constitution must be construed by itself in reference to the true meaning and intent of the framers of the instrument, and consequently that the constitution must, in each part, be more

¹³⁷ Mass. Hist. Society Proceed., XVIII, 459, 2nd Series.
Schouler's Characterization of Calhoun.

¹³⁸ Adams, Henry, *Life of Albert Gallatin*, 599.

¹³⁹ Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I, 341.

or less rigid, as may be necessary to effect the intention,—and I think it may be said with confidence that I have never uttered a sentence in any speech, report, or word in conversation that could give offence to the most ardent defender of States rights.—I have never done any act which, if condemned in me, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe must not be equally condemned.—I have nowhere in my public capacity asserted the right of applying money (for internal improvements) so appropriated without the consent of the States, or individuals affected.”¹⁴⁰

Calhoun expressed his views concerning the slavery question, and the Missouri Compromise in the following letter to Mr. Tait of South Carolina, written on October 26, 1820, just after Calhoun had returned from a

trip to the north:¹⁴¹

“Judging from such facts as come to my knowledge, I cannot but think that the impression, which exists in the minds of many of your virtuous and well-informed citizens to the South, and among others who are your own, that there has commenced between the North and the South a premeditated struggle for superiority, is not correct. That there are some individuals to the North, who for private objects, wish to create such a struggle, I do not doubt. It suits their ambition, and gives them hopes of success, as the majority of votes both in Congress and the electoral college is from the north; or rather from non-slave-holding states. But their number is small and the few there are, are to be found almost wholly in New York, and the middle states. I by no means identify the advocates for restriction and Missouri with them. The advocates of restriction are actuated by a variety of motives. The great body of them are actuated by motives perfectly honest. Very few look to emancipation. I state the case, as I am well assured that it exists. We to the South ought not to assent easily to the belief, that there is a conspiracy either against our property, or just weight in the Union. A belief of the former might and probably would lead more directly to disunion, with all of its horrors. That of the latter would co-operate, as it appears to me, directly

¹⁴⁰ *Letters of Calhoun*, House Documents, V 115 Am. Hist. Ass., V. II, 219-23; 1899-1900.

¹⁴¹ *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, I, 99. *Letters of Calhoun to Tait*.

with the scheme of the few designing men to the North who think they see their interest in exciting a struggle between the two portions of our country. If we, from such a belief, systematically oppose the North, they must from necessity, resort to a similar opposition to us. Our true system is to look to the country and to support such measures and such men, without a regard to sections, as are best calculated to advance the general interest. I firmly believe that, those individuals and sections of country, who have the most enlightened and devoted zeal to the common interest, have also the greatest influence.

"I have sometimes feared that the Missouri question will create suspicions to the South very unfavorable to a correct policy. Should emancipation be attempted, it must and will be resisted at all costs, but let us first be certain that it is the real object, not by a few but by a large portion of the non-slave-holding states."

Social justification was Calhoun's argument in defense of slavery. In conversation with J. Q. Adams, during March of 1820, he said:

"Domestic labor was confined to the blacks, and such was the prejudice, that if he (Calhoun) who was the most popular man in his district, were to keep a white servant in his house, his character and reputation would be irretrievably ruined. I (Adams) said that this confounding of the ideas of servitude and labor was one of the bad effects of slavery; but he thought it attended with many excellent consequences. It did not apply to all kinds of labor—not, for example, to farming. He himself has followed the plow; so had his father. Manufacturing and mechanical labor was not degrading. It was only manual labor—the proper work for slaves; no white person could descend to that. And it was the best kind of guarantee to equality among the whites. It produced an unvarying level among them. It not only did not excite, but did not even admit of inequalities, by which one man could domineer over another."¹⁴²

¹⁴² Adams, J. Q., V, 10.

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"ADDRESS"

(By the Canadian settlers of the Willamette Valley to the American settlers on proposed political organization.)

TRANSLATION BY P. J. FREIN.

We, the Canadian citizens, inhabitants of (this word looks like Wallamet which would be about the way a Frenchman would write "Willamette") considering with interest and reflection the subject which has brought the people to this assembly, do present to the citizens of American extraction, and particularly to the gentlemen who have solicited the said assembly, the unanimous expression of our cordial sentiments, of our desire for union and for perpetual and unalterable peace among us all, and considering our duty and interest of the new colony, we declare:

1st. That we desire laws or regulations for the well being of ourselves, and for the security of our property and our labors.

2nd. That we will not rebel against the measures of that nature passed last year by a part of the people; although we do not approve certain regulations nor certain kinds of laws. Let those (last year's—P. J. F.) magistrates finish their year. (This last clause seems to have been inserted as an after-thought—P. J. F.)

3rd. That we will not make new demands upon the American government because it is not decided that this land belongs to it and because we have our reasons, until the time for fixing the boundary of the States (U. S.) be decided upon.

4th. That we object to too anticipatory regulations which may lead to lawsuits over boundary stones, supposed directions, and the registry of lands, in view of the fact that we have no guarantees from the government to be established, and that perhaps even tomorrow all those measures may be abrogated.

5th. That we do not desire a kind of temporary government which may be too individual and too encumbent with officers useless to us in our poverty, and who would be a burden to the colony rather than an advantage to it. Moreover, lawyers and

literary men are too rare and have too much to do in a country so new.

6th. That we want rather the system of senate, or Council, to decide quarrels, punish crimes, except capital punishment, and to make suitable regulations for the people.

7th. That the Council might be elected and composed of members from all parts of the country, after the manner of civilized countries, to act in a body, or to be represented particularly by the president, for example, and by a justice of the peace for each part of the country, except the right of appeal to the entire body of the Senate.

8th. That those members be asked to devote their attention to their own and the public's welfare, through the love of right rather than through hope of gain, so as to remove from the mind of the people all suspicion of personal interest on the part of their representatives and honorable legislators.

9th. That every law burdensome and oppressive to the people—especially to the newcomers—must be avoided. Such are imposts, useless taxes, all kinds of registration. (This probably means things that had to be registered to make them legal, and possibly requiring a stamp of the government, P. J. F.) We will have none of them.

10th. That the militia is useless at this time and rather a source of danger because the tribes of savages may take umbrage at them; they are also the cause of delay in the necessary (public—P. J. F.) works and at the same time they are a financial burden. We will have none of them either, for the present.

11th. That we consider this country as free, today and until it has been decided by the two governments; free for everybody to establish themselves in it without any distinction of origin, and without any right to fine them so that they may become pretended citizens of English, Spanish or American allegiance.

12th. That, thus, we intend to be free, we, the subjects of England, as well as those of France, of Ireland, of California, or of the United States, or even the native Indians; and we desire

a union with all respectable citizens who wish to establish themselves in this country, where we ask to be free to make any regulation suitable to our needs, with the general provision that we have some manner of redress for any grievance done us by foreigners and that our customs and our reasonable rights be respected.

13th. That we are ready to submit to a legitimate and recognized government, if such come.

14th. That nobody is more desirous than we of prosperity of welfare, and of general peace—and especially of the guarantee of our liberty and of our rights. That is our hope for all who are now becoming and who will hereafter become our fellow citizens, and for long years of peace! (Here is added the Old French: *li suivent les nos*—meaning “may we attain unto it.”)

15th. That it be not forgotten that laws are needed only for necessary cases. The more laws there are, the more opportunity for knavery on the part of lawyers and the greater will be the trouble perhaps, some day.

16th. That, besides the members called to the legislative hall to discuss and pass regulations for the needs of the colony, every honest person shall have the right to take part in the discussions and to give his opinion, since the welfare of all is at stake.

17th. That it be remembered, during a lawsuit, that importance should be given to ordinary proofs of fact rather than to subtle points of law, so that justice may be attained and that trickery be not practiced.

18th. That in a new country, the greater the number of men employed and paid by the public, the fewer the men left for industries.

S. SMITH,
JOSEPH K. GERVAIS,
FRANCIS RENAY,
CHAS. E. PICKETT,
S. M. HOLDERNESS.

ADDRESSE

Nous les citoyens canadiens, habitans du Wallamet, considérant avec intérêt et réflexion le suyet qui réunit le peuple à la présente assemblée présentons aux citoyens d'origine américaine et particulièrement aux messieurs qui ont sollicité la dite assemblée l' unanime expression de nos sentimens de cordialité, de désir d' union et de paix perpétuelle et inaltérable entre tant de monde en vue de notre devoir et de l' intérêt de la nouvelle colonie et déclarons :

1° Que nous souhaitons des lois ou réglemens pour le bien-être de nos personnes et la sécurité de nos biens et de nos travaux.

2 Que nous ne voulons point nous rébellier contre les mesures de ce genre passées l' année dernière par une partie du peuple ; quoi que nous n' approuvions point certains réglemens ni certains modes de loi. Que ces magistrats achèvent l' année.

3 Que nous ne voulons point adresser de nouvelle demande au gouvernement américain par ce qu' il n' est pas décidé que ce terrain lui appartienne, et par ce que nous avons nos raisons, en attendant que la ligne soit décidée pour fixer les frontières des Etats.

4 Que nous nous opposons aux réglemens trop anticipés et exposant à des suites pour les bornes, les directions supposées et les enregistremens des terres, vu que nous n'avons pas de garanties vis avis du gouvernement à venir, et que peut-être dès demain toutes ces mesures seront brisées.

5 Que nous ne voulons pas d' un mode de gouvernement temporaire trop individuel et trop rempli de grades inutiles à notre pauvreté et surchargeants plutôt la colonie qu' il ne l' avancerait. D' ailleurs les hommes de loi et de lettres sont trop rares et ont trop à faire dans un pays si nouveau.

6 Que nous désirons plutôt le mode de sénat ou conseil pour juger les différens, punir les crimes (*excepté la peine de mort*), et faire les réglemens convenables au peuple.

7 Que ce conseil pourrait être élu et composé de membres de toutes les parties du pays, sur le plan des pays civilisés, pour

agir en corps, ou se faire représenter en particulier par le président, par exemple, et par un juge de paix, sauf le droit de rappel au corps du sénat entier.

8 Que ces membres soient priés de s' intéresser à leur bien-être et à celui du public par amour du bien plutôt que par espoir de récompense afin d' ôter de l' estime du peuple tout soupçon d' intérêt dans les personnes de leurs représentans et respectables législateurs.

9 Qu' il faut éviter toute loi surchargeante et pénible au peuple, surtout aux nouveaux arrivans; les impôts, les taxes inutiles, les enregistremens quelconques sont de ce genre nous n' en voulons point.

10 Que la milice est inutile à présent et plutôt un danger d' ombrage pour les nations Sauvages, et un retardement aux travaux nécessaires, en même tems que c' est une charge nous n' en voulons point non plus à présent.

11 Que nous regardons le pays comme libre aujourd' hui jusqu' à ce qu' il ait été décidé entre les gouvernemens, libre à tout individu de s' y établir sans distinction d' origine et sans droit à lui faire payer pour qu' il devienne citoyen soit de prétention Anglaise, espagnole ou Américaine.

12 Qu' ainsi nous prétendons être libre, nous sujets anglais aussi bien que ceux de France, d' Irlande, de Californie ou des Etats-Unis, ou du pays même; et nous désirons l' union avec tous les citoyens respectables qui veulent s' établir dans le pays ou nous demandons de nous reconnoître libre entre nous de faire tel ou tel règlement convenable à nos besoins, sauf la réserve générale d' avoir moyen de justice de tout étranger qui nous offenseroit—et que nos coutumes et nos prétensions raisonnables soient respectées.

13 Que nous sommes prêts à nous soumettre à un gouvernement légitime et connu, s' il vient.

14 Que personne n' est plus désireux que nous le sommes de la prospérité, de l' amélioration et de la paix générale et surtout de la garantie de nos libertés et de nos droits. C' est le vœu que nous faisons pour tous ceux qui deviennent ou qui deviendront nos compatriotes—et pour de longues années de paix!

li suivent les nos.

15 Qu' on n' oublie pas qu' il ne faut de lois que pour les cas nécessaires. Plus il y a de lois, plus il y a d' occasion de fourberie pour ceux qui en font profession, et plus il y aura peut-être de dérangement un jour.

16 Qu' outre les membres appelés à la chambre d' assemblée pour discuter et régler les besoins de la colonie, toute personne honnête ait droit de prendre fait et cause dans ces conférences et de donner son avis, puis qu'il s' agit des affaires de tous.

17 Q' on n' oublie pas, dans un procès, qu' avant toute subtilité sur l' accomplissement des points de la loi les preuves ordinaires de certitude du fait sont à faire valoir, afin de rendre justice et non pas d' exercer à la ruse.

18 Dans un pays nouveau, plus il y a d' hommes employés et payés par le public, moins il en reste pour l' industrie.

S. SMITH, Prest.

FRANCIS RENAY

JOSEPH X GERVAIS

CHAS. E. PICKETT

S. M. HOLDERNESS

{ Vis Prest.

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TRANSMISSION OF INTELLIGENCE IN EARLY DAYS IN OREGON*

By Clarence B. Bagley

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In these days of wireless and other telegraphs, telephones, railroads and steamships, automobiles and flying machines, those who have no personal recollections of pioneer life cannot realize the privations and dangers, intensified by difficult and often total lack of means of travel and communication, among the people of Oregon in its early years. It is with the thought that a brief recitation of a few incidents connected with the exchange of information between near and remote points in those days would be of interest that this paper is prepared.

The aborigines of the Northwest coast had absolutely no methods of recording events, and no method of communicating intelligence with each other beyond the limits of their voices.

The nomadic or plains Indians on both sides of the Rocky Mountains were skilled in the use of fires, smoke, blankets and gestures to convey to each other information pertaining to their daily affairs, and in the high, clear altitudes have been known to communicate with each other a distance of 60 miles.

Catlin records a rude system of pictographs, marked or burned on prepared skins of animals or bark of trees, whereby many notable feats of Indian chieftains in the matter of horse-stealing, scalp-lifting, or just plain killing, were preserved after a fashion.

*Read before the annual meeting of the members of the Oregon Historical Society, held at Portland, December 21, 1912.

A search through the works of Cox, Ross, Gibbs, Dall, Kane and 20 or 30 other early writers about Indians and their daily life does not show that the natives within the present confines of Oregon and Washington used signals to convey information to a distance, but they undoubtedly must have done so. In a monograph prepared by Colonel Granville O. Haller regarding his campaign into the Yakima country during October, 1855, he remarks: "The Indians evidently possessed some system of telegraphy or signals. At times groups of Indians were observed so near as to be within the range of the howitzer in places where they unconsciously exposed themselves to danger without being able to see into camp; yet the moment the howitzer was moved toward such parties they instantly dispersed, no doubt warned by their friends, through signals." Personally, I do not accept this as conclusive, for on Puget Sound I have been present when Indians were calling to each other intelligibly at a distance of more than 1000 yards, and it may have been that some equally strong lunged savage was directing his comrades orally during the engagement.

From the time the Astor expedition failed, for 10 years few white men penetrated the lower Columbia. About 1824, the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Vancouver and it at once became the center of the vast operations of that company on the Pacific. For a quarter century all communication of intelligence from Sitka on the north to Yerba Buena and Mazatlan on the south, from Fort Hall, and even on to the Great Lakes and to the St. Lawrence, and westward to the Sandwich Islands was conducted by that company. It had ships to and from London, schooners to Honolulu, steamers from Nisqually to Victoria, Langley and Sitka. Expresses were sent in every direction as the needs of the service required. By canoe down the Columbia and up the Cowlitz to a landing near the Cowlitz Farms, and thence to Nisqually by land. The trip usually required six days. From Nisqually, by canoe, to Victoria and Langley, though sometimes the Cadboro served, and after 1836 the steamer Beaver and later the Otter, in place of canoes.

There were three ships in the trade between England and Vancouver—the Vancouver, Columbia and Cowlitz. Outward bound, they were loaded with machinery, tools, goods and articles of trade not produced on the Pacific Coast. After unloading, they went north to Sitka, or to the Sandwich Islands, in either case carrying lumber and flour and bartered as they went. The round trip took three years, including the return to England carrying the furs and skins collected all over the Pacific slope and making up the cargo with wool, hides, horns and tallow. Of more interest than all else were the letters from home, newspapers and books and friends and visitors who came to stay for a time or permanently. Practically all the news from home came that way during the early years after 1824.

In 1838, about three years after the establishment of the Methodist Missions in Oregon, it had become apparent that, so far as the work among the Indians was concerned, it had been and must be a failure. To Jason Lee and others, the establishment of civilization with religion and good government as the foundation of the edifice became the paramount issue. It was agreed that Lee should become the messenger to personally represent to the Church Board, to the authorities at Washington and the public generally the needs and value of the country; to secure men and means for extended church work and to enlist the attention of those who might wish to migrate to it. He carried with him a petition or memorial signed by three-fourths of the white male population of Oregon. It gave an accurate description of the country, its fertility, climate and general adaptability for the home of thousands of settlers. The document was a literary gem, full of patriotic sentiment—more the work of a statesman than a preacher. Late in March, 1838, a party consisting of P. L. Edwards, of the Mission, a Mr. Ewing returning to his home in Missouri, and two Indian boys named William Brooks and Thomas Adams, headed by Jason Lee, began the long and hazardous journey eastward. Going up the Columbia River to The Dalles and Fort Walla Walla and to Whitman Mission,

inland about 25 miles, they remained there until April 12. Then eastward by way of Forts Boise and Hall, they left the latter post June 21. After the usual dangers and trials of the overland route in those days they reached the Shawnee mission near Westport on the first of September, five months on the way. Here Mr. Lee was overtaken by a messenger who had been dispatched for the purpose by Dr. McLoughlin, carrying the sad news that Mrs. Lee and their infant son had died a little more than two months before. Could any deed more fully portray the nobility of character and kindness of heart than this of John McLoughlin, by sending a courier 2000 miles to apprise a friend of his great bereavement?

May 6, 1842, an emigrant train, composed of 112 persons, left Independence, Mo., for Oregon. I have always felt that more prominence should have been given to this expedition, as it was the first of its kind, but the notable ride of Dr. Whitman and the voluminous and interminable discussion of matters connected with his errand and the migration to Oregon in 1843 have completely eclipsed the earlier expedition in the minds of the reading public.

Three men who became in later years notably prominent in Oregon affairs were a part of this train—Dr. E. White, Medorem Crawford and A. L. Lovejoy. The wagons were left at Fort Hall.

February 23, 1842, the prudential committee of the mission board that had control of the Whitman-Spalding-Eells mission passed resolutions discontinuing three of the four stations, recalling Spalding and Gray to the states and ordering Whitman to dispose of the mission property at the station thus abolished and directing Whitman to join Walker and Eells at Tshimakain.

News of this destructive order was brought to Whitman by Dr. E. White, reaching him about September 10. At once he dispatched messengers to his colleagues and they assembled at Wai-il-at-pu September 26-28. After the objections of Eells and Walker were overcome, it was decided that Whitman should go East by the overland route. October 5 was the time set and the other members of the mission returned to their

stations to prepare long letters to send by him. However, he started two days earlier, or on October 3, 1842. A. L. Lovejoy accompanied him. Usually they would have had little difficulty in getting across the Rocky Mountains before winter set in. They reached Fort Hall in the short space of 11 days. Parenthetically, I may say that in 1852 it took our Oregon train, using horses, from July 12 to August 20 to drive from Fort Hall to Umatilla—so they certainly made good time on this part of the trip. Instead of going by the direct route through the South Pass, they turned south through Salt Lake and Taos, towards Santa Fe. They encountered storms, snow, ice and partly frozen rivers. Their guide lost his direction and only the most heroic efforts and a succession of seeming miracles preserved them from destruction. From Taos they started for Bent's Fort, on the head waters of the Arkansas River. Near that fort they overtook a party en route for St. Louis. Mr. Lovejoy remained at the fort until Spring, but Dr. Whitman pressed on and reached Westport, now a part of Kansas City, February 15, 1843, about 19 weeks on the way. From there to St. Louis he went on horseback and thence by stage eastward, as the winter was unusually severe and the frozen rivers did not break up until April to permit steamboat navigation. He is recorded as being in New York City March 29 and in Boston from March 30 to April 8. His movements between February 15 and March 29 are not recorded, but a winter trip by land from the Missouri River to the Atlantic seaboard would probably have consumed most of that time. This was almost six months after leaving home.

The Provisional Government, June 28, 1845, adopted a resolution of about 1000 words, addressed to the United States Congress, which was not printed in the Grover archives. I am sure it would interest all those present, if there were time, to hear it read, and as it was signed by those who, in later years, played an important part in Oregon affairs, I venture to give their names: Peter G. Stewart, W. J. Bailey, and Osborn Russell, executives; J. W. Nesmith, Judge of Circuit Court; M. M. McCarver, speaker; Jesse Applegate, Medare G. Foisy,

W. H. Gray, J. M. Garrison, Abijah Hendricks, David Hill, H. A. G. Lee, Barton Lee, John McClure, Robert Newell, J. W. Smith, Hiram Straight, members of the Legislative Council. Ability on the part of its author and moderation in its preparation are apparent in every paragraph. It recites the condition of the people, "the fact that the temporary government being limited in its efficiency and crippled in its powers by the paramount duty we owe to our respective governments, our revenues being inadequate to its support and almost total absence apart from the Hudson's Bay Company of the means of defense against Indians. . . . The citizens of the United States are scattered for a wide extent of the territory without a single place of refuge. We have neither ships of war, nor of commerce, nor any navigation of the rivers of the interior."

It asked for a distinct territorial government, for means of protection against Indians, for Indian agents, and the acquirement of the lands from the Indians; for donations of lands to settlers then in Oregon and to come; for navy yards and marine depots on the Columbia River and Puget Sound (this was before an American settler had reached Puget Sound); for proper commercial regulations; for adequate military protection to emigrants or by military escort; for "a public mail to be established to arrive and depart monthly from Oregon City and Independence, Mo., and that such other local mail routes be established, as are essential to the Willamette country and other settlements."

December 23, 1845, it passed "an act to create and establish a Postoffice Department, under which William G. T'Vault became Postmaster-General. February 5, 1846, he advertised in the Spectator for the carrying of mails on the following routes: (1) From Oregon City to Fort Vancouver, once in two weeks by water. (2) From Oregon City to Hill's in Twality County; thence to A. J. Hembree's, in Yamhill County; thence to N. Ford's, Polk County; thence to Oregon Institute, Champoeg County; thence to Catholic Mission and Champoeg to Oregon City, once in two weeks on horseback.

The Whitman massacre occurred November 29-30, 1847. An express was at once sent to Fort Vancouver, arriving there December 6. Mr. Douglas' letter was read in the Legislature the afternoon of the 8th, and preparations for war with the Indians were begun at once. On the 15th resolutions were passed providing for sending a special messenger overland to Washington. Joseph L. Meek was chosen for the Eastern trip, and \$500 was appropriated to pay his expenses, but as it was given him in the form of a draft from the Methodist mission upon the mission authorities in New York City, he had to depend upon his own resources in making the trip. He was a member of the Legislative Council, but resigned December 16 and began his preparations for a trip that only a mountain man would have dared to attempt or hoped to accomplish. January 4, 1848, with credentials from the Oregon Legislature and dispatches to the President and Congress, and two traveling companions, John Owens and George W. Ebberts, he set out on the expedition so full of peril by reason of the inclement season and the hostile spirit of the Indians.

At The Dalles they overtook the Oregon riflemen. Chafing under the necessity of having to wait the slow movements of the little army, it was almost the first of April before the party began the ascent of the Blue Mountains. In the meantime Meek had assisted at the interment of his old friends, Dr. Whitman and wife, and his own little daughter, who was being educated at the mission and who died of exposure in the days following the massacre.

The well-known emigrant route was followed most of the way. The snows were deep and at times the cold intense. At Fort Boise, at the mouth of the Boise River, near its confluence with the Snake River, and at Fort Hall, on the Snake, about 15 miles above where the Portneuf joins the larger stream, they were entertained with generous hospitality and supplied with everything they wished to add to their outfit. After leaving Fort Hall on the way over the divide to Bear River, the soft drifts of new fallen snow compelled them to abandon their horses and proceed on snowshoes, which they

constructed from willow twigs. Provisions became scarce; one night they supped on two polecats they were fortunate enough to encounter. Near the headwaters of Bear River they met another historic character, Peg-leg Smith, who supplied their pressing needs and sent them on their way with all the provisions they could carry. From Bear River they went over to Green River, and from there to Fort Bridger. Here they found Bridger, who fed them well and supplied them with good mules. In the South Pass the snows were very deep, and two of their mules were lost in it, so they had to ride and walk by turns. Game was scarce, and by the time the party reached Fort Laramie they were nearly starved, as well as almost frozen.

From that point to St. Joseph, Mo., the difficulties from cold and snow and lack of food were not so great, but they were in constant danger from Indians, and but for Meek's previous experience in caring for his scalp it is doubtful if they would have got through safely. From St. Joe to St. Louis they went by steamer. Here Meek got in communication with the President by telegraph, and thence to Washington by steamer and stage the remainder of the trip was made in comparative ease. The trip from the westerly slope of the Blue Mountains to the Missouri River was made in a little more than a month over two mountain ranges during inclement weather. It was one of the notable achievements in that period of heroic efforts and accomplishments.

After Meek's departure, the Oregon Legislature also resolved to send a messenger overland to California to notify Governor Mason of the massacre and through him the commander of the United States squadron, asking for arms and ammunition for arming the settlers and a war vessel to be stationed in the Columbia River. Jesse Applegate, at the head of a party of 16 experienced men, set out on that errand about the first of February, but encountered such depth of snow they were compelled to return. The letters they carried were delivered to the brig Henry, March 11, and in due time reached their destination, but not in time to do any good. In fact, I do not find

that the commander of the squadron made any effort to extend aid to the colonists in their distress.

The Oregon and American Evangelical Unionist, the third newspaper published in Oregon, was published at Tualatin Plains, the first number appearing June 7, 1848. Under the heading "Mails," it said, "Probably the greatest embarrassment to the successful operation of the presses in Oregon is the want of mails." It had made arrangement with Mr. Knox to carry the paper on the east side of the Willamette and with Mr. Stoughton on the west side from Oregon City through Tualatin, Yamhill and into the upper part of the valley, once in two weeks. Mr. Knox started out with 16 subscribers. It had also made arrangements to receive mails regularly from Portland once each week and oftener by express whenever foreign intelligence appeared in the river.

"June 31st—The Hudson's Bay Company's bark Cowlitz from the Sandwich Islands crossed the Columbia bar the 14th and arrived at Vancouver the 20th, and at once began loading wheat for Sitka. She brought news of the death in Washington February 23d of the venerable John Quincy Adams," just five months before.

July 5, the arrival of the Evelyn with Sandwich Island notes to June 3 is noted at length. It copied from the Polynesian of Honolulu, and the Sandwich Island paper had in turn copied from London papers as late as February 26. These papers came by way of Mazatlan on the west coast of Mexico. No regular communication existed between Mazatlan and Acapulco in Mexico and San Francisco, or the Columbia River, but a line of schooners plied between the west coast of Mexico and the Sandwich Islands while the Hudson's Bay Company had frequent communication between these islands and Vancouver. Newspapers and letters were carried by water to Eastern ports on the Gulf of Mexico, thence overland to the west coast and in this way information regarding occurrences in the Atlantic States four months previous and in Europe still a month earlier was brought to Oregon and published as news.

The ratification of the treaty with Mexico at Washington on the 15th of March was discussed by the newspaper at length and with much animadversion as being in the interests of the slave holding oligarchy of the South.

August 16th, by the Louise regular files of California papers to May 29th received, announcing the discovery of gold "some way above Sutter's fort, about 130 miles from San Francisco." June 17, the Mary had arrived direct from Boston. All this news was from the Polynesian of June 24, via Sandwich Islands.

The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was concluded at Washington June 15, 1846, that fixed the international boundary at latitude 49 degrees and settled the "Oregon Question." No item of news of that period possessed a small part of the interest to the white people of Oregon, whether American or foreign born, still it was more than four months before it reached them. In a letter I have from Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas to Dr. William Fraser Tolmie at Nisqually, under date of November 4, 1846, Vancouver, is the following paragraph: "The barque Toulon arrived lately in the river with very important intelligence from the Sandwich Islands. It appears that the Oregon boundary is finally settled, on a basis more favorable to the United States than we had reason to anticipate . . . Business will, of course, go on as usual, as the treaty will not take effect on us for many years to come."

In early years the Hudson's Bay Company established a house at Honolulu, shipped thence lumber, timber, salmon, grain, flour and such other articles as were in demand in the Sandwich Islands, and in turn brought back such products of the Islands as were serviceable at Vancouver.

As early as 1845, the authorities at Washington began making spasmodic efforts for mail service from the Atlantic States to Oregon, via Havana, Aspinwall, across the Isthmus to Panama, thence up the Coast to the Columbia River, and thence to the Sandwich Islands, but little came of it until the discovery of gold in California. Early in 1847, Cornelius

Gilliam, of Oregon, was appointed postal agent for the Oregon Country. He was clothed with plenary powers to appoint postmasters and manage the postal affairs of the then Pacific Northwest. John M. Shively* was appointed postmaster at Astoria, and William G. T'Vault at Oregon City. During the so-called Cayuse War that followed the Whitman massacre, Colonel Gilliam commanded the Oregon forces, and in March, 1848, was accidentally shot and killed at Well Springs, Umatilla. In the archives of this society are several very interesting official communications from the postal authorities at Washington to Mr. Gilliam. One of them did not reach Oregon until several months after his death. After the close of the Mexican war and the cession of California to the United States, a postal agent to reside at San Francisco was appointed by the United States mail authorities and clothed with the same power that had formerly been conferred upon Colonel Gilliam. He appointed postmasters at Portland, Oregon City, Salem and Corvallis, but not until June, 1850, did a mail steamer come up the Coast, but even then the visits of steamers were few and far between until in 1851. The steamer Columbia arrived from New York with mails and passengers in March of that year. Her schedule between San Francisco and Portland was once each month.

The carrying of mails in the early days was a matter of great expense and exceeding difficulties and by land was attended with danger from storms, floods, wild animals and Indians.

On the same steamers that brought the first mails were express messengers. The Adams Company opened an office in Portland in 1852, but gave up the field to Wells, Fargo & Company in 1853. Until the formation of an express company by the managers of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company soon after the completion of that road in 1883, Wells, Fargo & Company had a practical monopoly of the express business of the Pacific Coast. If "safety and celerity" were desired it

*Mr. Shively, the first postmaster west of the Rocky Mountains, was appointed by Jacob Collamer, Postmaster-General,

was the rule among business men to transmit their letters under the care of this company. The company bought government stamped envelopes and put its own stamps on them and charged more than one hundred per cent profit for the service, the government mail service at the same time escaping the charge for carrying an immense amount of mail matter that it collected full postage upon.

Individuals engaged in carrying letters and light packages overland from Oregon to California in the early '50s and as a reward for their arduous and dangerous task received 50 cents an ounce for the contents of their pouches.

In January, 1852, the Oregon Legislature passed a resolution asking the delegate to secure the location of a postoffice in each county seat and that a mail route be established to each one of them; also that he "request" the Pacific Mail Steamship Company to comply with the terms of its contract, obligating it to leave mail at Umpqua City on the upward and downward trips of its steamships between San Francisco and the Columbia River. For 40 years that company observed no law, regulation or contract that was not to its liking.

In January, 1853, the Honorable Matthew P. Deady, member from Yamhill, introduced a resolution that "the regular transportation of the mails from all parts of the territory and the states is a matter of vital importance to the whole people, and six weeks having elapsed since the meeting of the Legislature during which time but one mail has arrived at the capital, our delegate be requested to obtain such instructions from the Postmaster-General as would compel the Postal Agent in the territory to see that the mails are faithfully and punctually conveyed." To this Stephen Waymire added an amendment, "or that the present Postal Agent be removed." On this there was only one negative vote. My father lived in and near Salem from 1852 to 1860, and I retain vivid recollections of many similar long delays. One winter the Columbia River was frozen for many weeks, so that the wooden steamers of that period could not break their way through and we were without news from the states for three long months. I am of the opinion it was this winter of 1852-3.

Construction of the railroad across the Isthmus of Panama was begun in 1850, and on January 30, 1855, the first train was run from Aspinwall to the City of Panama. From that time the mails to and from the Pacific Coast were carried on steamers plying regularly between New York and Aspinwall on the Atlantic side, taking seven to nine days for the run, and on the Pacific side between Panama and San Francisco, consuming from 12 to 15 days. Steamers usually went into Acapulco on the Mexican coast for fresh water and sometimes replenished their supply of coal. The trip across the railroad was but a matter of a few hours' run.

An advertisement appearing in the *Columbian* at Olympia, September, 1852, attracted my attention. It tells of the sailings in April of that year of the United States mail ship *Georgia*, commanded by David D. Porter, U. S. Navy (Admiral David D. Porter, of Civil War fame), to leave New York via Havana to Aspinwall. It said: "The Panama Railroad is now in operation and the cars running to within a few miles of Gorgona. Passengers will thus be enabled to save about 35 miles of the river navigation, and also the expense and danger heretofore attending the landing of boats off Chagres. The following will be the rates of fare to San Francisco: First cabin, \$315; second cabin, \$270; steerage, \$200."

In 1855 the construction of a telegraph line from Portland to San Francisco was begun. The line was actually completed as far as Corvallis, and a few messages transmitted, at least as far as Salem. It went through Oregon City and to Salem on the east side, and at the latter place crossed over to the west side, and thence to Corvallis. The wire was light iron and the insulators the necks of common 'junk' bottles placed around straight iron pins or nails in the tops of poles. The gathering of bottles and sale to W. K. Smith, who then had a drugstore in Salem, was a flourishing industry among the small boys of the village until the supply was exhausted. After that saloon-keepers found it necessary to keep their bins of empty bottles under lock and key. About the first spending money the writer ever earned was for these bottles. They were legal tender at

10 cents each, and that was the smallest coin known in Oregon in those days. The line was a failure, technically and financially. The wires soon began to break down. Animals and men got tangled in them, and runaways and serious injuries became so frequent that the adjacent farmers were compelled to make common cause and strip the wire from the poles. Coils of it were seen for years on fence stakes and other places where it could be kept out of the way.*

The telegraph line was completed from Sacramento to Yreka October 24, 1861, but it was not until March 5, 1864, that it reached Portland. September 4 of that year it reached Olympia, and October 26, Seattle. From that time until the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad across the continent, in 1883, while the telegraph served the newspapers and business needs of Oregon and Washington, the mail service was a never-ending source of frauds, injustice and hardships to the general public. The Oregon Railroad was begun in 1868, but not completed until 1887, and the Northern Pacific, begun at Kalama in 1871, reached Tacoma in 1873. Those sections of railroad, joined to steamboat service on the Columbia River and Puget Sound, helped to better mail and passenger service, but one reading the newspapers of the Northwest will find the mail service under discussion and complaint year in and year out from 1849 to 1883.

In Portland and the lower Willamette Valley, served by sea and gradually by stage, it was bad enough, but as practically all the mails for Washington came by way of Portland and the wagon road from the Columbia River to Olympia was, in winter, notoriously the worst in the world, the trouble of Oregonians were but a drop in the bucket compared to ours on Puget Sound.

The last link in the telegraph line from St. Louis, Mo., to Yreka, in Northern California, was completed October 24, 1861. This cut off from the Pony Express its most profitable business, and it was at once discontinued, and in commenting

*An insulator, a piece of wire, and a stamp used to stamp the dispatches, is in the possession of this Society.

on this fact the Sacramento Union said: "It is with regret we part with the Pony, but it seems to be considered by those who established the Express that it has accomplished its mission. It effected an important and sudden revolution in the reception of news from the Atlantic side and has proved of great benefit to the people of California. During the year 1860 the trips by pony were made with astonishing regularity—rarely varying more than a few hours from the time expected. The Pony Express also developed the Central route; it directed public attention to it; and by its regular trips in Winter as well as summer, demonstrated to the world the practicability of the route for mail purposes. The result was a contract for carrying the Pacific mails overland daily. As that mail is, or ought to be, delivered daily, the proprietors of the Pony seem to have concluded that the Express is no longer needed."

The Pony Express was a remarkable enterprise of semi-official character, and for a couple of years served to bridge over the link of nearly 2000 miles between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento, Cal. It was started April 18, 1860, and the first trip was made in 10 days, lacking seven minutes. More than \$250,000 were wagered on the result. Miller, one of the partners, attended to the details of the inauguration of the service. He bought 300 of the fleetest horses he could find in the West and employed 125 men, 80 of whom were post riders. Men of light weight but known courage and experience on the plains were selected. It was necessary that some portions of the race against time should be run at the rate of 20 miles an hour. The horses were stationed from 10 to 20 miles apart and each rider was supposed to ride 60 miles, though it happened more than once that when the rider arrived at the end of his run he found the other man sick or injured or dead, and then the tired rider ran out the other man's stunt. Only two minutes could be spared for shifting mails and changing steeds. At first, where there were no permanent stations, tents for one man and two horses were set up. Single miles were recorded as being done in one minute and 50 seconds. The dangers and difficulties, fights with Indians, dare-devil feats and hair-

breadth escapes of these wild riders have furnished themes for countless stories during the past 50 years.

The "star mail routes" and expresses by stage, on horseback and on foot across the plains and all over the Pacific Coast would require a separate paper to describe them. Horace Greeley, Albert D. Richardson, Schuyler Colfax, Bret Harte, "Mark Twain," Joaquin Miller and a host of notable writers have perpetuated the memory of notable stage drivers, and the route over which they drove. As soon as the constantly diminishing space between the ends of the Central and Union Pacific railroads made it feasible, stages were run carrying passengers and mails. This was also true between Roseburg and Yreka, over the Siskiyou and Shasta ranges; from Monticello, on the Cowlitz near its mouth, over the Cowlitz Mountains and to Olympia, on Puget Sound; from The Dalles to Goldendale, Yakima and Ellensburg; from Wallula to Walla Walla, Waitsburg, Colfax, Spokane and Colville; from Boise City to Florence and the mining towns of Idaho and Montana and to Salt Lake City. Baker City and the whole of Eastern Oregon were for many long years served only by stage. All the little towns of the Willamette Valley nestling near the foothills of the Cascades and the Coast ranges got their mail by stage or on horseback, once a week sometimes; once a month at others. All over this whole region of today the daily mail and the rural mail delivery are accepted as a matter of course, and only a gray-haired man or woman here and there remembers the old days and the isolation and privations of pioneer life.

DOCUMENTS

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, COVERING SNAKE COUNTRY EXPEDITION OF 1830-31.

(Printed from copy made by Miss Agnes C. Laut in 1905 from the original in the Hudson's Bay Company's House, London, England)

EDITORIAL NOTES BY T. C. ELLIOTT.

INTRODUCTION

Readers of the *Quarterly* will recall the publication of the Journals of Peter Skene Ogden in Volumes 10 and 11, recording the explorations and fur trapping experiences of that energetic H. B. Co. fur trader in Oregon, Idaho, Utah and Nevada between the Cascade Mountains and the main range of the Rockies during the years 1825 to 1829 inclusive.

There is abundant indirect evidence that in the late summer of 1829, Mr. Ogden led his company of trappers to the southward from Fort Walla Walla, through Eastern Oregon and along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Range and into Southern California, and that merely a detached party visited the Snake Country of Southern Idaho. But there is no record available and it is necessary to pass by the experiences of that year's journey with the hope that the original journal will be found at some future time. Upon the return of Mr. Ogden in the early summer of 1830 it was found that by orders from Gov. Simpson he had been transferred to the trade along the Coast in company with Mr. Finlayson, and the command of the Snake Country Brigade had been assigned to Mr. John Work, a very worthy successor. Mr. Work was of Irish descent and his name is properly spelled Wark. In this *Quarterly* (Vol. 10, page 296 et seq.), has already appeared an account of a journey made by him in the spring of 1830 from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver and a brief mention of his career.

Mr. Work's journals for at least two expeditions are available for use in this *Quarterly*, and that for only the first part of the expedition of 1830-31 is now given. This is another of

the transcripts made by Miss Agnes C. Laut from the original in the Hudson's Bay Company's House in London; it (the transcript) is now a part of the Ayers Collection in the Newberry Library of Chicago, and through the courtesy of that Library this copy has been obtained.

The track of Mr. Work's party in 1830 follows very closely that of Mr. Ogden in the Fall of 1827, for which compare with Vol. II, page 355 et seq., of this Quarterly. From Fort Walla Walla, at the mouth of the Walla Walla River, across the Blue Mountain range and through the valleys of the Grand Ronde, Powder and Burnt Rivers to the Snake River at Huntington and on to the mouth of the Payette River it follows very nearly the scientifically recorded journey of John C. Fremont in 1843. Thence Mr. Work followed up the Payette River for two days, crossed over to the Boise River and from the sources of one of the forks of that river over to the Camas Plains and the waters of the Malade River in Southern Idaho. He then visited in turn the branches of that river and of the Lost River and proceeded across the lava bed plateau to the Blackfoot and the Portneuf Rivers. Evidently the intent was to trap pretty thoroughly the very sources of the various streams already named. It is of interest to recall that the year 1830 found in the camps of the American trappers in the Snake country some of the "mountain men" who afterward took an active part in the early government of Oregon, namely, Joseph L. Meek, Doc. Robt. Newell, Joseph Gale and others.

August 1830.

Sunday 22.—On the 15th the Snake Trappers whom I am appointed to take charge of reached Fort Nez Percés¹ from Fort Vancouver with their supplies. The following days were occupied arranging about horses. On the 20th they moved off from the fort. I remained two days to arrange papers and accounts to write letters and this morning followed and came up with camp near the foot of the Blue Mountains on a branch²

¹ Fort Nez Perce is the original Northwest Company's name for the trading post erected by them in the summer of 1818 and later known as Fort Walla Walla; for description of the building of the Fort, consult Alex. Ross's "Fur Hunters of the Far West."

² This branch stream was probably Pine Creek, which empties into the Walla Walla River at the town of Touchet, sixteen miles east of Fort Walla Walla; the horses belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company were herded on what is still known as the Hudson's Bay ranch on this creek.

of the Walla Walla. I reckon the distance 24 miles E. S.-E. The party consists of 37 men, 4 hired servants, a slave,³ 2 youths, in all 40 able to bear arms and armed, and 29 women and 45 children (22 boys, 23 girls), a total of 114 souls. These are provided with 21 lodges to shelter them, 272 horses and mules, 337 traps. The horses are pretty well loaded with provisions, as the journey lies through a country where animals are scarce. In the above party are 26 Canadians, 2 Americans, 6 half-breeds from east of the mountains, 2 Iroquois, 1 Nip-pesing.

Monday, 23 Aug.—Sultry weather. Moved 8 miles E. S.-E. to the foot of the mountains, where we encamped⁴ on a small branch of the Walla Walla. Our journey is to last a twelve-month, and we must take care of our horses at the beginning.

Tuesday, 24 Aug.—Early on the move and camped in 5 hours east of the summit of the mountains. Four Cayuse Indians going to the buffalo hunt joined us. They have no women, but one of them has a slave girl who followed him and was sent back twice; but today again came up. On her refusing to return, he shot her, the ball wounding 3 places, but not mortally. This is the way of treating disobedience. I made him to understand that the whites did not suffer such occurrences among them.

Thursday 26th. Encamped at entrance⁵ of Grand Ronde River. All hands employed getting lodge poles to pass the plains.

Monday 30th. Proceeded to Powder River through a fine valley.

Thursday, 2 Sept. Proceeded to Burnt River. Kanota killed 2 antelope. Dupard & Pritchett took 5 beaver.

³ Not a "gentleman of color" from the South, but a captive from some other tribe and usually designated as such by having his hair cut short. This slave gave a good account of himself before his death soon after, as will be seen a little further on.

⁴ Probably near either Blue Mountain Station on Dry Creek or the town of Weston on Pine Creek, both in Umatilla County, Oregon; from this place they crossed the Blue Mountain divide the following day.

⁵ This is at Summerville, Union County, Oregon, formerly known as Indian Valley; after four days here they passed through the Grande Ronde Valley and over the divide to Powder River.

Sunday, 5 Sept. Proceeded to Snake River,⁶ here about 200 yards wide.

Tuesday, 7 Sept. Alex Carson who is to take charge of 5 men, Depat, Cloustine, Sanders, Turner & Jean Ba'tiste, crossed the river northward to hunt the Wazer⁷ and Payette's Rivers and cross the waters to some of the branches of Salmon River. A party was sent last year but too late to cross the waters they did not do well. These are to be at Nez Percés (Fort) the 10th of July (next). This reduces us 6 men, 4 women, 30 horses. We are still strong enough to oppose the Blackfeet.

Thursday 9th. Reached the discharge of Payette's River up which we proceeded. Payette found a horse here among the Snakes stolen 3 yrs. ago. The Indian pleaded he had traded it, but got from Payette only a knife.

Saturday 11th. Marched S. E. from Payette's River to Reid's River⁸ to the south flat, to the north mountains.

Monday, 13 Sept. Cut across to Sickly River:⁹ here we encamped.

Thursday 16th. Pritchett's wife in labor we did not move camp. Kanota & Etang returned with 7 beaver. The woman delivered of a boy.

Sunday 19. Reached Little Camas Plain.¹⁰

Saturday, 25 Sept. Fine weather: encamped near the mountains. The people all out in different directions hunting. At 8 p. m., about an hour and a half after we encamped, one of the men, Thomas Tanateau, came running to the camp afoot almost out of his senses with fear and related that as he P. L., Etang, Baptiste Tyagnainto & L. Kanote's slave were going to their traps on the upper part of the stream in the mountain, they were set upon by a war party of Blackfeet and his three companions killed on the spot, that he barely escaped.

⁶ Huntington, Oregon, having come by way of Powder River and Burnt River.

⁷ The Weiser River in Idaho; called the Wazer by Arrowsmith.

⁸ The Boise River, known as Reed's River after John Reed of the Astor party who started a trading post at its mouth.

⁹ The Malade, or Wood River of present maps; but the party can hardly have reached it yet.

¹⁰ Not far northeast but across the ridge from Mountain Home on the Oregon Short Line Ry.

Five of my men were in camp. Some soon arrived & we put ourselves in a state of defence and made pens for our horses. The men scanned the hills in vain for the enemy. Three Cayuse Indians with us found poor L'Etang and the slave murdered, stripped and the latter scalped. Baptiste was still alive. They brought him to camp through the dark. He is wounded but not dangerously and gives the following account of the melancholy occurrence. The four were ascending a steep hill afoot leading their horses and not paying attention to the sides of the road when Indians started up from the long grass and fired then rushed and seized him but not before he discharged his gun and killed one. He called on the slave to fire when the Indians rushed upon the latter and killed him. In the interim Baptiste ran to cover in a tuft of willows where he hid till the Cayuse found him, gun powder horn and shot pouch were torn from him. L'Etang made no defence. The slave killed one when he fired and it was his struggle enabled B to escape. Thomas was not wounded. His pursuers were near taking him but heard Kanota's rifle fired at a deer. The Indians made off without taking time to mangle the bodies as they are wont to do—scalping only the slave. The enemy consisted of 20 men—their motive to get horses and arms. Another man, F. Campaign had a narrow escape. They stole 3 of his traps. These men risked (?) themselves but the Snakes being ahead, it was thought the Blackft would hang on the rear. Payette and 12 men interred our unfortunate companions. 4 men arrived from Reid's River with 27 beaver; 42 beaver this day from our own river. Sold L'Etang's property by auction.

Tuesday 28. Encamped on Sickly River where it received the Camas Plain River.¹¹ Country rugged and barren. Black-foot tracks are observed prowling about camp.

Saturday, 2 Oct. Marched N by E to Muskeg Swamp where the N. fork of Sickly River has its source.¹² A party of Snakes 11 years ago took 300 beaver in 2 encampments here. Few beaver are here now driven by fire & destroyed by some

¹¹ At the hot springs about eight miles west of Stanton in Blaine County, Idaho; present site of Magic Reservoir of U. S. Reclamation Service.

¹² The North Fork of the Malade would be the Little Wood River of today.

sickness for there is no sign of recent hunting here. Little but reeds growing. The beaver feed on the roots. Whether this causes the sickening quality of the flesh or the roots, several of the people are sick from eating the beaver. Hemlock is also found the roots of which cause the flesh to be poisonous.¹³

Sunday, 10 Oct. One of the men who went up the river brought back news he had met a party of 20 American hunters just arrived from Snake River across the plains. They had been 2 days without water. One of them an Iroquois called Pierre,¹⁴ who deserted from us came to our camp; but little news was obtained from him. Americans are encamped within a short distance of us.

Tuesday, 12 Oct. Left Sickly River and struck across the plain to a small rivulet that bears Bevens' name. Eastward lie the plains¹⁵ towards Snake River. Our object is to search Salmon River. There are 2 roads of the same length—the north branch of Sickly River and the one we take by Goddin's River,¹⁶ preferable because level and leading sooner to the buffalo for provisions, the people being out of food. Moreover the Americans may not follow us by this road not knowing our route. Their horses are (s)low but they have no families or lodges and little baggage to embarrass them wh. gives them an advantage over us. The Americans raised camp before us and proceeded up the river, but on seeing us strike across the plain they left the river and followed along the foot of the mountains and encamped behind where Payette and party were defeated by the Blackfeet 2 yrs. ago. I did not see a Mr. Rabides who is at the head of the party but it appears they are 200 men, 100 hunters. Crooks & Co. are the outfitters. A Mr. Fontenelle¹⁷ who manages this business is now

¹³ The Malade was so named by Donald Mackenzie because his men were made sick by eating beaver there; Alex. Ross reports a similar experience and now John Work adds his testimony and explanation.

¹⁴ Evidently the same Pierre who gave Alex. Ross so much trouble in 1825 in the Bitter Root Valley.

¹⁵ The dry lava bed plateau of central southern Idaho, beneath which the mountain streams flow to Snake River.

¹⁶ Arrowsmith shows this name of the Big Lost River and Day's River or Day's Defile would be the Little Lost River of today.

¹⁷ Consult Chittenden's Hist. of Amer. Fur Trade. A trapper named Robidoux is mentioned; also Lucien Fontenelle. Both were with the American Fur Company of the Missouri River, with which Ramsay Crooks of Astor Company fame was connected.

at Snake River with 50 men. They have great quantity of goods en cache. They have been hunting on the Upper Snake. They were set upon by the Blackfeet on Yellowstone River and 18 men killed. They had intended to go to the Flatheads this fall but were deterred by the advanced season.

Thursday, 14 Oct. A. (?) Plante, M. Plante, P. Findlay, & Payette killed each a buffalo. Are now in a barren country covered with wormwood.

Wednsy. 20. Reach what is called the Fountain & a swamp where Goddin's River has its source. A road here thro' the mountains to Days' Defile: A road also from the south. Buffalo are numerous but the Banock Snakes have driven off the elk.

Saturday 23rd. The women availed themselves of the hot springs to wash their clothes.

Tuesday, 2nd Nov. Camped near head of Day's River. Three years ago a party of freemen wintered here with Mr. McKay¹⁸ we met 2 Flatheads. Their camp is 6 days' march off, very strong, Flatheads, Pendant d'Oreilles and Spokanes with Nez Percés being together.

Saturday, 6 Nov. The two Flatheads left to-day. I wrote by them to Mr. C. F. McLoughlin apprising him of our route.

Tuesday, 23rd Nov. A party of Freemen under Mr. Ogden passed the winter here some years ago. There was neither ice nor snow in the valley then.

Sunday, 28 Nov. Stormy cold weather snow showers (?) and drifting. Crossed the height of land 12 miles S. E. The snow 2 ft. deep. The horses are jaded. People are fatigued. Large herds of buffalo are about.

Wednesday, Dec. 1. Proceeded to the entrance of Day's Defile.¹⁹ Six of the men, August Finlay at the head of the party, O. Finlay, M. Finlay, A. Hoole (?). A. Plante and Bte Gardipie separated from camp and took the road round the

¹⁸ Consult Mr. Ogden's journal for winter of 1828 when he was so anxious about this Thos. McKay party; the latter was son-in-law of Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver.

¹⁹ Where the river canyon opens upon the plain, which they crossed a few days later in about the line of branch line of Oregon Short Line of today to the Blackfoot Mountains east of the Snake River and City of Blackfoot.

end of the mountain. These men are all half Indians. The two roads meet at the end of a few day's march, the road thro the pass is hilly, and uneven (depth) of snow 2 ft. Horses gave out on the way. Excellent feeding at camp half way. Herds of buffalo observed in the valley.

Dec. 9, Thursday. Crossed plains to a dry branch of Goddin's River.

Friday 17th. Arrived (?) of Snake River lower end of Blackfoot Hill. Found good feeding for horses and a great many Snakes are encamped around. Loss of horses altogether crossing plains 26. Cold caused the loss. The Americans hunted this quarter summer and fall. Lately a party of them crossed the mountains to White River to winter. We found poor L'Etang's rifle among the Snakes, picked up in bushes where Blackfeet had camped.

Tuesday, 21 Dec. Clear and cold. Large party of Snakes paid us a visit on horseback as a mark of friendship passed 3 times round our camp firing volleys. They were well armed and wore the scalps and mangled remains of the 2 Blackfeet whom they killed 2 days ago suspended from their horses' bridles.

January, 1831.

New Year's day. None of the people went hunting. They endeavored to regale themselves. Each man was treated with a dram of rum and some cakes.

2nd Sunday. Foggy late last night 16 Flatheads and Nez P came from the American camp²⁰ at White River on the E. side of the waters. They are afoot. Have been 10 days on the journey. They sold their horses to the Americans at high prices and now wear blankets of blue green and white besides having guns, rifles and beads. The Americans are to come this way in spring to form a post among the Flatheads. The Americans have 2 parties 6 chiefs and a great many men.

March, Thursday 17. Cloudy rain cold. The Snakes are

²⁰ Probably this refers to the vicinity of Ft. Bridger on a branch of Green River and to the trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, the partnership of Fitzpatrick, Jackson and Sublette. This was the company with which Meek, Newell and Gale were associated. Arrowsmith shows a White Mud River, which would be our Bear River.

moving off down the river. The chief the Horn²¹ and a few old men paid us a visit.

Friday 18. Moved camp across the plain to Portneuf(?) River.

(The rest of this continued to another volume).

LETTERS OF REVEREND H. H. SPALDING AND MRS. SPALDING,
WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER COMPLETING THEIR TRIP
ACROSS THE CONTINENT.²²

FORT WALLA WALLA.

Colubia River, Oct. 2, 1836.

To Brothers Wm. & Edward Porter & their wives :

Very Dear Brothers and Sisters

It gives me great pleasure that I am permitted to say, the Lord has brought us safely through our long, doubtful journey; and that our eyes have actually seen the long, long, long-wished-for Walla Walla, the end of our journey of 4100 miles. By the blessing of God, we arrived here on the 3rd of Sep., seven months and three days from the time myself and wife, left her father's house, a day that will I think be long remembered by us; a day may I not ask, that will be set apart by that little band at least of dear friends: (oh my soul, shall I never see them again!) assembled in that sacred room on the day of our departure, as a day of prayer and thanksgiving to that God, who has sustained, and finally brought to completion, the hazardous expedition undertaken by the missionaries of the Board. I cannot realize that I have crossed the Rocky mountains since the morning I drove sorrowfully out of Prattsburgh, and am now actually on the banks of the terrible Columbus, but it is really so. I have already been paid a thousand fold by what my eyes have seen, and all America with her gold and happiness could not purchase a place for me in the states, if I must leave these poor heathen standing thick around, pleading with their own tongues, actually, for

²¹ Probably the same chief named The Horse in Mr. Ogden's journal.

²² This letter was secured through the late Prof. R. K. Warren, of Portland, a native of Bath, New York, about eighteen years ago.—George H. Himes, Assistant Secretary Oregon Historical Society.

the bread of eternal life, unpitied. Call my anxiety that I coldly expressed for the poor heathen when in the states, enthusiasm, madness or any other name which closed up the pulpit in my beloved Seminary against me as I passed last spring, and gave occasion for my beloved father in theology and one of the professors to absent themselves from the celebration of our departure, held in the Cong. Church of Cincinnati; the snowbanks of the Rocky mountains did not kill it, the hot blasts of the sandy desert did not wilt it, but the actual sight of what fancy only pictured before, told me in voice of thunder, I had not pleaded the cause of the heathen, only attempted it. Oh that our churches at home could see and feel what their missionaries witness every day on heathen ground! There would be a very different story told in their pulpits, and a very different one told on their treasurer's books.

For particulars respecting the journey I must refer you to my letter to Mr. Green, if published, which occupies four or five sheets and consequently cannot be written over to every individual friend. I will however give a brief sketch, and first, you will please connect the following points with a line on some map which will give our route, very nearly. From Liberty, Mo., 300 miles above St. Louis, up the south side of Missouri river to mouth of Platte, Lat. 41 degrees, longitude 95 degrees, up the north side of Platte to the forks Lat. 41 degrees, Long. 102 degrees up the north fork to Ft. William of N. F. Co., foot of the mountains, Lat. 41 degrees 50 minutes, Long. 106 degrees, 40 minutes. This fort has been built three or four years, raises grain, and have fine cattle. Up the west branch still, till a few days of rendezvous, a place appointed this year on Green river, a branch of the Colorado, to meet all the trappers perhaps 300 of the Co., in the mountains; also the Indians that came to trade. Then about 42 degrees, 56 minutes, Long. 110 degrees, 5 minutes, S. W. into the borders of Mexico onto the waters of Timpanagos or Salt Lake, so called from its depositing great quantities of salt, Lat. 41 degrees, 50 minutes, Long. 111 degrees, 25 minutes, south of this lake. I have just learned there is a fine country of land, well

timbered with pine, oak, and what is unknown so far as I have been able to learn in any other part of the mountains, sugar tree. No winter, grass green through the year, Utaws and Navihoes in the vicinity, wild Indians, no man safe among them. Navihoes raise great quantities of grain, cattle, sheep, etc., and make their own clothing, and have their own religion, reject the Catholics of California, could be reached without doubt by any other religion. Who will go? Thence west to Fort Hall, on Snake or Lewis river, Lat. 42 degrees, 13 minutes, Long. 113 degrees. This fort was built in 1834 by Capt. Whyeth of Boston, who came that year into the country to engage in the fur trade and with whom the missionaries Lees came. No female accompanied them. Here turnips have been raised but too frosty for farming. Some timber on a small spot and apparently several thousand acres of good soil. This is a dangerous situation, in the vicinity of the Black Feet, a blood-thirsty Indian tribe, frequently at the gates of the fort, have destroyed many lives and stolen hundreds of horses. From this fort, north of west down Snake river, to Snake Fort at the junction of Wood and Snake rivers, Lat. 44 degrees 10 minutes, Long. 116 degrees 20 minutes, called Wood river from its having a little timber on it, a species of poplar called cotton wood, found abundant in the western states, and the only timber except a little pine sometimes on the mountains, found whenever any is found in the mountains. This fort was built last year by the Hudson Bay Co., where 16 years ago a fort, and all the men except one were cut up. On Wood river there is considerable land not subject to frosts, a favorable situation for settlement, the first we met with from fort W., a distance of 1050 miles. This is a safe country; Indians friendly, Snakes and Bonnocks. From this fort northwest to Walla Walla, at the junction of Columbia and Walla Walla rivers Lat. 40 degrees 10 minutes Long. 119 degrees 15 minutes. This fort was built 19 years ago by the Hudson Bay Co. Much good land up the Walla Walla river some 50 miles; timber plenty near the mountains, some 90 or 100 miles; none within 60 miles of the fort, except flood wood down the Columbia; fertile spots of 5 or 20 acres within

16 or 18 miles. Abundance of corn, potatoes, peas, garden vegetables, cattle, hogs &c., raised here. Natives very friendly, formerly very dangerous cannibals, one man perfectly safe among them anywhere now. Cheyooses²³ [sic] and Walla Walla speaks the Nez Perces language; one of us will probably settle on the W. river. About six days to Walla mountains, the valleys became covered with a short fine bunch grass, evidently a very strong species of grass, from the fact that cattle and horses grow very fat on it, summer or winter. Our cattle were in good flesh when they ended their long journey. They are now good beef. The cattle and horses of this country exceed for fatness, anything I ever saw in the states. This grass extends for hundreds of miles around. The Walla Walla country is consequently good for herding. The system of the Hudson Bay Co. forbids them to sell cattle to any person, even their own traders or clerks. They will lend to any extent, none killed. In this way, the country is fast filling up with cattle. However, a few have been killed this year at Vancouvers, and Dr. McLoughlin has ordered Mr. Pembran^{23a} to kill one fat ox at this fort—we are to have half of it. There are at Vancouver, 700 head of cattle; from 20 to 100 at several other posts. Three days after arriving at this fort we started on a visit to Vancouver, 300 miles; went down the Columbia in a boat propelled by six oarsmen, were detained two days by head winds, and reached Vancouver the seventh day. We were very kindly received by Dr. McLoughlin the chief factor in Columbia. We were much disappointed at the abundance of necessities and comforts of life here to be obtained, and cheaper than in the city of New York, from the fact that all goods come to this country free of duties. Two ships from London this year heavily laden with goods. Two now in port, one from the Sandwich Islands: both sent this fall. Two more expected soon from the coast. The company have also a steamboat for the coast. The farm at Vancouver produced 4,000 bushels of wheat and other grains except corn, in proportion. The Dr. has a beautiful garden of about 15 acres, containing all

²³ Cayuses.

^{23a} Mr. Pambrun.

manner of fruit. As soon as we get a location, we shall, Providence permitting, supply ourselves with fruit trees. I will name some: Apple, peach, plum, cherry, grape, prunes, etc. We left our wives at Vancouver till we find a location and build, as they can be better accommodated there than in this place. Two white women arrived at Vancouver before them. The farmer's wife in the spring and the Rev. Mr. Beaver's wife in the ship just arrived. We remained at Vancouver a week, returned in 12 days with the boat heavy laden with supplies for us, such as flour, pork, butter, tallow, salt, farming utensils, Indian goods, etc., etc. The Columbia is the most frightful river I ever saw navigated by any craft. The Cascades or rapids, about 100 miles from Vancouver and 200 miles from the ocean, it is easy passed with any craft from there to the mountains, a distance of 700 miles it is a swift current, frequent rapids, three or four compressed channels and one or two falls—I believe there are six in the whole river, three between this and Vancouver. Portages are made of property, one of boat and property carried by 50 or 100 Indians for a small piece of tobacco. Tide sets up 50 miles above Vancouver. Probably a larger quantity of water must flow than in the Mississippi, but it is frequently pressed into a channel of ten rods. Many lives are lost in this river. None but Canadians and Indians would ever think of navigating this terrible Columbia. Last night we had a little shower of rain, the first drop in this region since the first of May and the first we have experienced since the 24th of June as we were entering the mountains. Air is very pure and healthy. I think this the healthiest country in the world. Rain is plentiful in Columbia in the winter season; water in this country is most delicious. We have become so attached to our mode of living as to prefer a lodging in the open air to indoors. The atmosphere at night is exhilarating.

Have just returned from exploring the Walla Walla river. Doct. W. has found an excellent strip of land; timber sufficient in 25 miles instead of 50; rich soil extends for about 12 miles in length; beneath [beyond?] on the mountains in about four

miles of this building spot is the greatest country I've seen yet. His location is about east of this. Brother Gray and the men will go to building immediately. Doct. W. and myself expect, God willing, to go into the Nez Perces country on the 9th. Several Nez Perces have arrived to conduct us to their country. My beloved chief, spoken of in several letters, who came out to meet Mr. Parker, Dr. Whitman and myself, and who has stuck by us from the beginning, I think will be here tomorrow. The Nez Perces are certainly the handsomest Indians I ever saw, the most friendly, a most likely of the red men and live better than any other tribes on this side of the mountain. The Cheyoes among whom Doctor has settled, next; the Walla Walla's next. All these speak the Nez Perces language. But as we pressed west the Indians became more wretched and filthy. The women have a small covering about the loins, the men are entirely naked, with no appearance of shame. You may frequently see four or five hunting in each other's herd [heads] and eating the prey. They were formerly in the habit of shooting all the horses of a chief over his grave. I saw a large pile of horse bones the other day in such a place. This custom the Hudson Bay Co. have broken up. It was once the custom, if a mother died at any time within six weeks after the birth of a child, to bury the living child with the mother. This custom was also broken up by the Company. There has been no case until now for five years. A Walla Walla woman died soon after the birth of a child. The father gave a horse for another woman to nurse the child; three days after, the father of the mother, took the child and buried it alive with its mother. The father of the child takes it very hard. The women of this country are great gamblers; six or eight of them will frequently stake property, especially among the Nez Perces, to the amount of \$500.00 mostly ornaments. Let me tell the dear Christian ladies who lay out the Lord's money to appear fine, could they see a Nez Perces woman with herself and house [horse] equipped, pass through one of their cities, they would go to their drawing room, take down their sham trappings and cast them into the fire, as not worth notice.

ing in comparison with the splendid equipage of a Nez Perces lady and her milk-white steed.

You will hardly believe when I tell you, that Mr. Pambra [Pambrun] who has done so much to forward our object, spending more than a month in traveling with us, and has been with us to look at a location, and says he will do everything in his power to help us, and wishes us to take his children to bring up, is a Roman Catholic.

Tell your dear children all, I remember them. Have seen 5000 Buffalo at once probably. Hope they will all become missionaries. Letters or a box of good clothing can come to us by way of the Sandwich Islands. Direct, postpaid to Rev. David Green, Boston, to Doct. McLoughlin, chief actor of the H. B. Co., Vancouver. Tell Mr. and Mrs. Bridges I am much pleased with their new relation. I supposed Miss Hopkins was to marry Mr. Bull, till I received your letters. Get all the good friends in P. to write six sheets in one letter to me. Give my love to your dear father and all friends in P.

H. H. SPALDING.

P. S.—Oct. 20, Vancouver.—God has brought me back to this place. Since I left Utica, I have traveled 5,300 and my wife 4,900 miles; we have yet to travel 425 to end our wanderings. The Lord directed us to a favorable location, among the Nez Perces, 125 miles east of Walla Walla, and 12 east of Lewis river on a river putting in from the north called Koos-koos. The Nez Perces are much rejoiced that I have found a place. They say, "only let us know what you want, and it shall be done at once." They are to meet me at Walla Walla, the 15th of November to take all my effects to their country. In the meantime, God willing and assisting, I expect to take a boat load of supplies with the hands up the river while Doct. W. remains to prepare his house.

Mrs. Spalding writes in the same letter to Mrs. O. and C. Porter:

Dear Sisters:

Allow me the privilege of addressing you a few lines through the medium of Mr. Spalding's letter, which after reading what he has written respecting the state of my health during the greater part of our journey you doubtless will receive not only as the voice of one from the far West but of one from another world. But bless the Lord with me, dear sisters, for His preserving mercy which has brought our little company through that long and hazardous journey in good health and under favorable circumstances in every respect. Mrs. Whitman and myself have spent our time since the 12th of September at Vancouver in the family of Dr. McLoughlin where we have been favored with all the attentions and luxuries of life desirable. The principal exercise our situation here affords us is walking in the garden, to which place we frequently resort to feast on apples and grapes, and riding occasionally on horseback. The riding-horses here are high-spirited, trained to gallop, and a ride of ten or fifteen miles is performed in a very short time. You may think us adepts at performing on horseback after the experience our late journey has afforded us. I was thrown from my horse twice in consequence of his taking fright and becoming unmanageable, [sic] but received no serious injury. I have been wonderfully and I sometimes almost think miraculously preserved and brought through a journey I often thought I could not survive. Surely the mercies of the journey demand our consummate [sic] gratitude. I long to exchange my present comfortable situation for one among the poor Nez Perces where I can spend the strength which I have wholly regained in laboring to benefit them. I did not leave my friends and all I hold dear and valuable in my native country to reap the comforts and luxuries of life in a land of strangers. No, I trust the only object I had in view in coming to this heathen land was to labor for the temporal and spiritual good of those whose minds are enshrouded in heathen darkness. I long to see their precious souls enlightened and interested in the bless-

ings of that gospel which brings life and immortality to light. Remember and pray for us that we may labor successfully for the promotion of our Master's cause in this heathen land. A few words to the little folks. Tell them we often think how happy they must be to have kind parents to take care of them, give them good food and clothes and books and send them to school where they can learn much that will be very useful to them. We have seen a great many Indian children who have no clothes and never have bread or anything very good to eat. They sometimes get a little meat but when they have no meat they eat roots, grass, seeds, crickets and a great many bad things. They are very poor children and know nothing about God. Dear children, is not your condition a happy one indeed?

Affectionately,

MRS. SPALDING.

LETTER BY JAMES W. NESMITH TO FRIENDS IN THE EAST.

Oregon City, Willamette Falls, O. T.

27th June, 1845.

My Dear Friends:—

As Dr. White is on the eve of starting with a small party for the United States, I avail myself of the opportunity to return you my most sincere thanks for your long and affectionate letter bearing date 15th of March, 1844, which was gratefully received on the 5th of December of the same year.

I have read it until it is completely and entirely worn out; the fragments I have carefully deposited in my desk and frequently refer to them as the only reward for the innumerable and lengthy letters written by me for the last four or five years.

I console myself with the hope that you may do better for the future.

It was gratifying to me to hear that you were all in the enjoyment of health and prosperity for the continuation of which you have my best wishes.

Well Cozs Theophilus and Jane are married—this is no more than I expected to hear. I wish them all the joy imaginable together with a dozen *pledges of affection*.

I suppose that I may never expect to see a line from either of them again, as the objects which await their attention at present is of more interest than a wandering cousin.

If Aunt Peggy, Sally, Harriet and Jessie had all formed similar connections, I suppose that I might have waited for a letter until the year nineteen hundred and a long time to come. As for David, he never would condescend to correspond with me, and Miss Margaret and Joseph²⁴ seem to partake of the same disposition. Uncle and Aunt would be excusable for not writing if they would only make the others do it.

Harriet expresses a wish that I should bring her some curiosities when I return. I can only give her the assurance that I have a large quantity of them collected, but the period of my return depends very much upon circumstances. This likely leads you to make the injury of what I am about. You will laugh heartily at the answer; however, you shall have it, since I am confident that your critical remarks will have but little tendency to lower the dignity of the Supreme Judge of Oregon.

I am engaged in reading law and discharging the duties of the above mentioned office for which I receive a salary of five hundred dollars per year, besides all the fees for probate business, which swells the amount to about \$600.

I am well, doing well and well satisfied. I am sorry that I have not room to give you a history and description of our Government and laws, but I hope that you will not form an unfavorable opinion of it from the fact that you happen to be acquainted with one of its most important officers.

We have five organized counties, the Gov., Judge, Sheriff, Recorder, Attorney, Treasurer and Assessor are State officers and operate for the whole, and hold two courts in each county annually; the Justices form the inferior courts. We have a Legislature composed of thirteen members who have now just commenced their annual session at this place which is the seat of *Government*.

²⁴ Joseph G. Wilson, who came to Oregon in 1852, was elected to Congress in 1872, and died July 2, 1873—a cousin of Mr. Nesmith.

I was appointed to my present office in December last to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Dr. Babcock, who left for New York by water. I received the nomination of the Champoege Convention and ran for the office at the election which took place on the first Tuesday of the present month at which I received the unanimous vote of the whole Territory happening to be on all tickets, two of which I send you enclosed which were *printed* for Champoege County. They are the first tickets printed in Oregon. You should preserve them as curiosities.

The question of adopting a constitution was before the people at the late election, but was rejected. All names marked thus X on the tickets were elected. Everything appears prosperous and flourishing in the colony.

By the Brig Cowlitz from California via the Sandwich Islands, we have American and English papers up to the first of January, 1845, which informs us that Polk is elected and Texas annexed, also a revolution in California. *The patriots will be reinforced from this place.*

Don't fail to write every opportunity; you can send letters by the Hudson Bay Co.'s express by paying the postage to Montreal or Quebec, direct to Fort Vancouver, Columbia River.

Dr. White, U. S. Sub. Ind. Agent west of the Rocky Mountains, will bear this letter to the States, as he goes through Cincinnati; he may call on you. If he does, I know that you will receive him kindly for my sake. He is a most worthy man, indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, full of his urbanity and kindness, besides being my particular personal and political friend.

Law books are scarce here. I sent last year to St. Louis for a few volumes, but have heard nothing from the agent since. We have a very good circulating library in town, but few books that are of much aid in the study of law.

The Cowlitz brought President Tyler's message; we are all waiting with great anxiety to see what Congress will do for Oregon.

Three more merchant Brigs are expected in daily; one from New York, which left January last and will bring us a printing press,²⁵ the funds to pay for which was raised at this place by subscription.

It affords me but little satisfaction to write to you, as I wish to say so many things, and have room for so few. If I could only be with you I could tell you more in half an hour than I could write in a week. I shall write you again in the latter part of this summer, which I will send to the Islands and overland through Mexico. You will likely receive it as soon nearly as you do this.

With great respect, I remain

J. W. NESMITH.

LETTER FROM SIR GEORGE SIMPSON TO ARCHIBALD MCKINLAY,
1848, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Editor of the Quarterly:

Some question has always remained as to the personal relation of Dr. John McLaughlin toward the accounts he opened so freely with the settlers in Oregon after their arrival in such destitute circumstances. The following letter written in June, 1848, by Gov. George Simpson, then in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in America, to Mr. Archibald McKinlay, the chief trader of the Company in charge of their store at Oregon City, throws some light upon that question. When writing this letter Gov. Simpson was at Norway House on Lake Winnipeg, where was usually held the annual council with his chief factors and traders and where he passed upon the reports from the various districts of the Company's territory. The letter was brought to Mr. McKinlay by the express leaving Norway House after the council and crossing the Rocky Mts. by the Athabasca Pass and arriving at Fort Vancouver usually in October.

²⁵ The press upon which the Spectator was printed February 5, 1846—the first newspaper west of the Rocky Mountains in American territory.

The disturbed state of the Oregon country to which Gov. Simpson refers was the Indian war then in progress and reported to him in the dispatches from Fort Vancouver in the spring of 1848; and the sketch of Oregon City by Paul Kane, the artist, would be of interest, if accessible now. An interesting inquiry arises as to the Mr. McMellan mentioned; could this have been the Mr. McMillan who was on the Columbia with David Thompson as early as 1809 and returned east with Gov. Simpson from Fort Vancouver in March, 1829, and seemingly then retired from the service as far as the Columbia District was concerned—an efficient and trusted officer?

This letter is one of many discovered at the home of a son-in-law of Mr. McKinlay, at Savonas, B. C.; the original is now in the Archives Department at Victoria.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Walla Walla, December, 1912.

Norway House,
24th June, 1848.

Archibald McKinlay, Esqre.,
Willamette Falls.

My Dear Sir:—

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your valued communication of 16th March by which I am glad to find that all goes on with you at the Willamette Falls as well as might be expected from the disturbed state of the Country and the poverty and reckless habits of the surrounding population; the old outstanding debts come in very slowly and I fear there is very little prospect of their ever yielding a dividend of 50%.

It is very satisfactory to learn that so good an understanding exists between Mr. McLoughlin and yourself; you ought by all means to cultivate that gentleman's good will and be as useful to him as in your power. I should be glad to learn the nature and extent of Mr. McLoughlin and his sons business operations.

Notwithstanding the want of capital among the Willamette population you appear to have done good business there during the past year, more especially so as it has been conducted on the principle of prompt payment from which there ought to be no deviation. I was quite surprised by the picturesque and respectable appearance of your city at the Falls, exhibited in a sketch by Mr. Kane, the doctor's mills form a very conspicuous object. I should be glad to learn how they are likely to turn out.

Your furlough came round this season but as you have not availed yourself thereof, lest your absence might be attended with inconvenience to the service, which is exceedingly considerate and laudable, care will be taken that leave of absence or change of rotation will be obtained for you in 1850 should you desire it; it would be well to apprise me next year if you be really determined to go in '50 in order that some other gentleman may be provided to fill your place.

It affords me great satisfaction to learn by letters from Mr. McMellan this spring (conveying very favorable reports of Mrs. McMellan & their family) they have it in view to come out to Canada next year in order to take up their quarters at Point Fortune; indeed I think they would have been out this year had he been able to dispose of his place in the neighborhood of Perth to advantage.

I am full of business, being about taking my departure for Canada, which will account for the brevity of this communication and hoping to have the pleasure of hearing from you next season.

Believe me to be,

My Dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

G. SIMPSON.

MEMORIAL OF CITIZENS OF ASTORIA PROTESTING AGAINST A
PROPOSED REMOVAL OF DISTRIBUTING POST OFFICE AND
PORT OF ENTRY FROM ASTORIA TO PACIFIC
CITY, 1850.

To the Hon. The Senate & House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

The Memorial of the Undersigned Citizens of Astoria, in the Territory of Oregon, respectfully sheweth:

That your Memorialists have been informed that a petition has been presented, or forwarded for presentation, to your Honorable body, for the removal of the Distributing Post office and Port of Entry, from Astoria to a place called Pacific City, nominally located on Baker's Bay, under Cape Disappointment on the North side of the Columbia River, and about thirteen miles below Astoria.

Your Memorialists show that the relation of Cape Disappointment to Astoria is precisely similar to that of Sandy Hook to the city of New York; that Baker's Bay is a place of anchorage, formerly used by vessels before the discovery of what is called the South Channel, while wind bound in passing Cape Disappointment; that vessels passing through the South Channel, whether in or out, owing to the prevalent winds of the country, suffer no other detention than that attending the mouth of any other river, from actual storms; that, on the other hand, vessels passing through the North Channel, under Cape Disappointment, are exposed to detention on entering, as well as in going out; that they have often been delayed for weeks in Baker's Bay when they might have passed on by the South Channel at once; that the anchorage within the bar is inferior in Baker's Bay to that under Tansy Point on the south side, and vessels lying there are more exposed to the prevalent winter storms.

Your Memorialists further show that since the survey of the mouth of the Columbia by Commander Wilkes, the bar has undergone considerable change; that the old channel has contracted, while the South or Clatsop Channel, has straightened

and deepened; that since the end of February, when the ship Louisiana was first taken out by Captain Charles White, our Pilot, among nearly a hundred vessels which have crossed the bar in entering or going out, not more than ten have passed through the old channel or near to Pacific City; that only one vessel ever voluntarily stopped at that port, and that even she came in at the South Channel.

Your Memorialists further show that to all vessels ascending or descending the river a saving of some miles in actual distance is effected by the present route, as well as of time and peril; that vessels of any size which navigate our waters can enter by the south channel to Astoria; that the U. S. Steam Ship Massachusetts, the Sloop of War Falmouth, the Pacific Mail Steamers Carolina & California, have all passed it without detention or danger.

And Your Memorialists further show that the petition for a change of the Port of Entry does not come from the people of Oregon or express their sentiment, nor does it further the interests of commerce; that it is solely the offspring of speculators who are seeking to bolster up a fictitious town by the transfer of Government patronage from its natural seat.

Your Memorialists finally show that a survey has recently been concluded of this port and harbor by the officers of the United States surveying schooner Ewing under Capt. Wm. P. McArthur, and also a reconnaissance by the joint Commission of Army & Navy officers attached to the United States Steamer Massachusetts, and they respectfully suggest that before any change is contemplated, those officers may be examined as to its propriety.

And Your Memorialists will ever pray, etc. Dated at Astoria this 6th day of September, 1850.

SUMMERS & SMITH,	C. W. SHANE,	JOHN McCLURE,
A. P. EDWARDS,	DAVID INGALLS,	ORIN POTTLE,
WILLIAM JOLLY,	D. T. MANSELL,	C. BOELLING,
JOHN ADAIR,	J. W. CHAMP,	A. VANDUSEN,
*P. C. DAVIS,	WM. W. FROST,	E. C. CROW,
THOMAS TRISTRAM,	JOHN A. ANDERSON,	IRA H. MCKEAN,
JOHN GRAW,	JACOB G. COE,	J. FROST & CO.
ROBERT DYSON,	— TAYLOR,	HENRY MARLIN,
ALFRED BOURGEOIS,	MOSES ROGERS,	ANDREW CONNERS,
SAMUEL T. MCKEAN,	WM. P. BREED,	JAMES WELCH,
A. B. MCKEAN,	R. SHORTESS,	JOHN E. GREENE,
D. W. COFFINBERRY,	JAMES NIBLIN,	W. S. KEENE,
JOSEPH LINCOLN,	JAMES ROBINSON,	O. J. HUMPHREY,
J. EDMUNDS,	J.S.RINEARSON & Co.	S. H. SMITH,
S. M. HENSILL,	R. H. BAIRD,	R. HUNTS,
F. SWEVEAY,	JOHN SWEETMAN,	EDW. McCARTY,
LUKE TAYLOR,	S. C. SMITH,	F. W. PETTYGROVE,
GEO. GIBBS,	THOMAS NORRIS,	DAVID E. PEASE,
GEO. H. HEWETT,	J. W. MOFFITT,	CHAS. H. MUNN,
THOMAS GOODWIN,	THOMAS MITCHELL,	HENRY DRIVER,
THOMAS V. SMITH,	ALNE M.D.MACKAY,	H. S. AIKEN.

*The only one in the above list now alive—a resident of California.

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